THE ROLE OF EDUCATORS IN POLICY AND PRACTICE FOR UNDOCUMENTED STUDENTS

by

Cynthia Nayeli Carvajal

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As members of the Dissertation Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by: *Cynthia Carvajal*, titled: *The Role of Educators in Policy and Practice for Undocumented Students*

and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

JILL KOYAMA — Date: 12/5/2019
[Committee Chair Name]

Michelle Téllez — Date: 12/5/19
[Committee Member Name]

KEVIN LAWRENCE JENKINS — Date: 12/05/2019
[Committee Member Name]

Francesca López — Date: 12/05/2019
[Committee Member Name]

ARIANA MANGUAL FIGUEROA — Date: 12/05/2019
[Committee Member Name]
EMAIL → DR. KOYAMA

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copies of the dissertation to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.

JILL KOYAMA, EPSP — Date: 12/05/2019
[Committee Chair Name]
Dissertation Committee Chair
[Academic Department]

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ABSTRACT

Undocumented high school students rely on trusted educator allies to support their academic mobility, often by identifying and interpreting policy. Policy research has shown that educators are capable of shifting and creating policy in an effort to create opportunity, especially, when policy historically limits opportunities for marginalized students. This study aimed to identify the role of educators in the lives of undocumented students and the process by which educators interpret , appropriate, and create policy across two states. My study asks what is the role of educators in policy and practice as it relates to undocumented students.

Through a comparative study between educator networks in Arizona and New York, my study aimed to understand how educators defined their roles, engaged with policy, and created networks to support undocumented students in their schools. While previous research on undocumented student support systems utilizes the narratives of undocumented students lived trauma, this study shifts the focus towards educator allies. The analysis of my study demonstrated that educators defined their role to empower other educators, address status-blind narratives, and intervene to support their students. Often this intervention took the form of interpreting and appropriating policies while working within other educators and networks. The results of my study indicated that despite the difference in policy and politics educators across both states share similar practices to advocate for undocumented students. However, with no formalized roles in schools, these educator allies conduct strenuous and consuming work without structure or compensation. Therefore the results of my study make a case for a formalized role within K-12 schools to support educator advocacy and understand educator strategies.

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND

Reported statistics on the number of undocumented immigrants in the United States have been inconsistent throughout the years. This is partially because to be "undocumented" means to live in the shadows, work under the table, and remain undetected. As a result, it is unclear how many undocumented immigrants reside in the United States. The consensus among immigration think-tanks and activists is that there are 11 million undocumented immigrants currently residing in the United States (Krogstad et al, 2017). Historical increases in this number often only account for adults in between the ages of 20 – 45, when individuals, including undocumented immigrants, begin filing for taxes (Passel, 2003). However, through consistent data from the Urban Institute and Census (2003), it is believed that 80,000 undocumented school-aged children turn eighteen every year. Moreover, one sixth to one fifth of those, do not graduate from high school. In total over 100,000 undocumented children graduate high school each year. Of those only about 31,850 or 5-10 % enroll in college (United We Dream, 2015). These are relevant numbers to understand when looking at educational institution, leadership, and policies that impact undocumented students.

Often, school-aged undocumented students navigate K-12 spaces, unaware of their status and the repercussions it can have on their future academic and career prospects (Gonzales, 2015). However, even when students share their status, there exists a wide array of misinformation and contradictions about their options (Abrego & Gonzales 2010; Neinhusser et al, 2016). This awareness can determine whether undocumented students receive the resources to properly transition through K-12 systems. While it can also bear negative consequences, but schools often function as protective spaces where undocumented students don't have to engage or share their status. Undocumented students who are pushed out of K-12 spaces are more likely to interact with legal spaces than their college-going peers. Thus, schools can provide undocumented students with a space to develop, grow, and transition into adulthood, away from legal transitions

and networks. Unfortunately, with only 5-10% of undocumented high school students transitioning to college, it is clear that our current education system and our policy initiatives do not adequately respond to the needs of undocumented students.

Further, keep in mind the external factors that influence students' ability to navigate K-12 spaces. Undocumented students often attend underfunded schools with subtractive schooling practices, such as the devaluation of their home languages (Valenzuela, 1999). They are also more likely to be poor, live in crowded housing, lack healthcare, and reside with families struggling to make ends meet (Gonzales et al, 2012). All these factors add to the burden of their documentation status, and ultimately control their academic mobility. Therefore, undocumented student's educational trajectory is best understood by researching their K-12 educational experience.

Legal Factors in Educational Spaces

As noted above, schools serve as a space to help students appropriate their identity and to navigate a lack of social capital (Gonzales, 2011) in high school, where students begin to interact with their peers. However, they may be unable to experience the complete transition into adulthood due to their legal status; as a result, may experience shame and guilt (Rambaut, 1997; Rindfuss, 1991). One study (Gonzales et al, 2012) has shown that it can be especially detrimental for students to discover their legal status at an early age. An early realization of status allows educators the opportunity to provide resources but without proper intervention it may result in depression and faltering grades (Gonzales et al, 2012). It is therefore necessary that educators be aware and that schools have the proper services to assist students through their status.

The Role of Educators

Another crucial factor, and the focus of this dissertation, is the role of educators in supporting and creating policy that benefits undocumented students. Indeed, scholars at the intersection of immigration and education have made note of the vital responsibilities' educators have in the lives of undocumented students (Olivas 2004; Gildersleeve, Rumann, & Mondragon,

2010; Murillo, 2015; Crawford & Valle, 2016). School leaders and personnel are often the first institutional contact for newly arrived families (Crawford et al, 2016). These personnel sustain a sense of belonging, promote academic achievement, and socialization habits in school, all of which produces a positive sense of community (Fredericks, Blumenfeld, & Paris, 2004; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2007). These educators, whom Stanton-Salazar (2011) called "empowerment agents," are essential for undocumented students who often times need advocates in K-12 spaces. Although educators can provide support by understanding the experience of their undocumented students, they must also understand and create policy within their schools.

The Role of Policy

Policy at the federal, state, and local level has substantially obstructed the experience of undocumented communities because they often contradict, influence, and shift in relation to each other. A historical overlook at policy in the United States reveals that undocumented people have been subjected to gross injustices. The federal policy that many scholars will argue has the most effect on undocumented students is the Supreme Court Decision of *Plyler v Doe* (Brennan & Supreme Court, 1981; Lopez, 2004; Olivas, 2011, 2012; Randoff, 2011; Olivas & Bowman, 2011). This Supreme Court decision mandates that school-aged children have a constitutional right to an equitable K-12 education regardless of immigration status. However, policies that terrorize and target immigrant and undocumented communities have also been initiated by the federal government. For instance, Operation Wetback, the Bracero Program, and Secure Border Initiatives targeted immigrants, migrant workers, undocumented immigrants, and Latin American citizens, subjecting them to deportation and removal proceedings (Olivas, 2011). Post 9/11, the USA Patriot Act, Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act of 2002, the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System, and Student and Exchange Visitor Information Service began tracking immigrants and international residents in school systems (Olivas, 2004; Romero, 2002). This was an attempt to have schools unconstitutionally gather information from their

students, singling them out as immigrants. In that same vain, Section 507 of the Patriot Act solidified this in higher education institutions by violating FERPA (Romero, 2002).

Federal policies also implicated state policies by preventing states from supporting undocumented immigrants in higher education, an oversight of *Plyler v Doe*. Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) of 1996 banned states from granting in-state tuition to undocumented immigrants. As a response, and through the activism of undocumented youth, states created policies that evaded the restriction of IIRIA in order to admit and provide in-state tuition for undocumented students. Currently, 19 states provide in-state tuition for undocumented students. New York, one of sites of my research and is one of those states, while Arizona, the other site, does not provide in-state tuition. However, other states, such as Alabama and South Carolina have gone as far as to ban undocumented students from enrolling in their public colleges and universities. Subsequently, states and their political and policy context can alter resources students are able to access.

It is important for educators to know and understand these policies, but it is also important for them to create policies within their school. Short falls in understanding policies can otherwise create confusion among educators and students when looking at resources and opportunities for undocumented students. For example, high school policies must take into account interplaying policies that could lead to detainment, which will ultimately influence their educational attainment. This is especially meaningful to highlight as there are records of students being detained by ICE in high school (Pochoda, ACLU correspondence mail, 2013) and on their way to school. In fact, at the time of this study I worked with a school where a student was picked up by Border Patrol on their way to school. Most educators at his school did not have the proper training to respond to the situation. Fortunately, one educator was able to contact a lawyer, a community organization, and update the mother on her child's location. In this example, it is clear that policies at the national level did not take into account state policies on detaining

undocumented students, preventing them from going to school. Instead, these conflicting policies did not provide educators with proper policy and training in case a student's rights are violated.

Recent Events

More recently, President Obama passed Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) as an executive action in 2012. Although DACA is not an education policy it entangles educational spaces. To qualify for DACA applicants must be enrolled in school, have graduated high school, or be enrolled in a GED program. After five years of its implementation several studies have come out to show the benefits of DACA. Protection from deportation and ability to work has allowed participants to integrate into social and economic spaces (Gonzalez et al, 2014). DACA recipients were able to apply to higher paying jobs, take out loans for school, and in some states, were allowed to get a driver's license. Applicants were also able to take care of their parents, provide for their family members, and support themselves. DACA has provided economic and social benefits for its recipients. Although DACA provided eligible undocumented youth with protection from deportation and a work permit, these contingent protections were only provided for some. Of the 11 million undocumented immigrants only 7% undocumented individuals applied and qualified for DACA (Author's calculations using Gonzalez et al, 2014 statistic that only 770,000 people applied and qualified for DACA). In the five years this policy had been in place, DACA's greatest beneficiaries were those who already possessed a degree. It did not bear a significantly positive influence for undocumented high school students' access to higher education (Gonzales et al, 2014). This highlights that access to protective status is not the only barrier undocumented students face. Rather the roles educators provide for students seeking to graduate from high school and enroll in college is likely a more imperative factor. Undeniably, as educators navigate bureaucracy, heavy caseloads, and a multitude of experiences from their students, it can become increasingly necessary to understand the steps in which educators have already identified their roles and created networks of support within their schools.

Disappointingly, after five years of its implementation the Trump administration has removed DACA, demanding that congress pass "a constitutional alternative." An act which congress failed to do before the end of the year. Short of this ultimatum, which alters the lives of millions, this administration has shown racist and xenophobic directives with regards to undocumented immigrants. In fact, there have been significant increases in raids, removal of Temporary Protective Status, and threats towards sanctuary cities that ban ICE presence outside of the border. With 80,000 undocumented students graduating from high school every year, how can educational leaders provide them with resources and networks to support their experience in high school as they navigate their status?

PROBLEM STATEMENT

When interrogating research on undocumented students, current research (Suarez-Orozco et al, 2015; Muñoz, 2016; Murillo 2017) has focused on their experience in college. This literature has sought to understand how students navigate socioemotional spaces and issues of legality while in higher education. It has provided recommendations on how to support and advocate for undocumented students and has been used to examine the experience of undocumented students in K-12 spaces. This scholarship focuses on what students can do to connect with gatekeepers, trustworthy adults, and organizing spaces (Abrego, 2006; Perez et al, 2009; Gonzalez 2010). Recently, scholars have begun to explore the role of educators as agents of change, advocates, and policy makers in the lives of undocumented high school students (Gonzales & Carvajal, 2015; Murillo, 2017; Mangual Figueroa, 2017). These studies have shown that undocumented K-12 students face unique stressors that can sway their schooling, and they reveal a discrepancy in educators' abilities to address the needs of undocumented students. Ingrained in this work is the notion that educators play a vital role in the lives of undocumented students, specifically their role in creating resources and interacting with policy.

Trust as a Role

For students to obtain access to resources they must "come out" as undocumented to educators. However, with stressors present in school and concerns over deportation, it is a dangerous process to come out to individuals unless trust has been established (Huber & Malagon 2006). Moreover, it is a paramount step for students to come out to educators to receive the necessary connections that Gonzales described. Those who have come out have found academic mentors that have the capability to search for answers to properly guide their students. The importance of trust, therefore, becomes a double edge sword where educators need to establish this relationship in order to provide resources (Murrillo, 2017). However, social experiences of being undocumented can prevent students from developing the necessary relationships with an academic mentor to come out to them. Reasonably, distrust in adults due to their status prevents students from having the confidence in their potential mentors. This can be particularly true when government entities such as schools and local government can deter students from seeking services (Chavez et al, 2007). Moreover, anti-immigrant legislation within states can have a traumatic effect on students (Allexsaht-Snider et al, 2013). This can therefore sway student interaction at the K-12 level. The role of the educator is to mitigate these forces to provide adequate support and trust. This work makes a far-reaching point that it is up to educators to prove that they are, in fact, trustworthy to their students.

Creating Resources as Policy

Therefore, this study also looked at how K-12 educators incorporated policy to provide resources for undocumented students. Not only is the access to resources a barrier, but a lack of knowledge in these resources can be another obstacle for undocumented students. A wide array of misinformation and contradiction about their situation can prevent them from properly transitioning through K-12 (Abrego &Gonzales, 2010). Additionally, the mix of policies towards their legal status confuses and discourages both students and educators from understanding their process (Abrego & Gonzales, 2010). Often it is not clear whether students can attend college or receive financial aid. This information can vary between states and between universities.

Moreover, the urgency and sensitivity of the information can make the process of finding information anxiety inducing (Perez et al 2010).

In order to support undocumented students' access to higher education, and their determining K-12 experiences, we need to first understand the roles educators currently play and identify the roles they need to play. With the removal of DACA and continued xenophobic rhetoric towards immigrant communities, these actions continue to threaten the well-being of undocumented students. The knowledge educators can bring into schools to support undocumented students is more than timely, it is urgent.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study was to identify and analyze the role educators play in the lives of undocumented students in different political and policy contexts. I aimed to examine and analyze educators' roles in creating networks of support for undocumented students. Undocumented students heavily rely on educational institutions to support their academic endeavors (Flores & Horn, 2009). Therefore, the incorporation of undocumented students into schools relies deeply on the ways in which educators communicate their support and students communicate their need for support. We must not only examine the role of educators in their lives but the way in which they shape policy to choose to foster opportunity for these students. As stated above, policy varied across states which can create very different climates on immigration and cultivate different policies. While one study (Dougherty et al, 2010) compared policies across two states, research does not cover the context in which educators navigate and create networks of support for undocumented students. Political and policy context of a school can affect how students and how educators react and advocate. Ultimately what is known in one context cannot be assumed for another (Crossley & Vuulliamy, 1984).

Pilot Studies

My dissertation was informed by three pilot studies I conducted in three cities across the United States. One pilot study in 2012-13 took place in a high school in Southern California.

Despite its current progressive ideals, California had harbored a variety of anti-immigrant legislation in the past. In this study I recruited DACA eligible students to attend after school meetings which provided them with resources to graduate and attend college. I provided them with information regarding the CA Dream Act, DACA applications, and the college selection process. As students participated in these resources, I also collected qualitative data on the experience of students receiving DACA for the first time. This group met for a full school year. The questions and methods focused on the resources that student received throughout their academic schooling and their alignment with advocacy.

The second pilot study was based in New York from 2014 to 2015. The participants in this study were all part of the same organization which provided them with advocacy tools and resources. Ultimately, these students were referred to this study by leaders in the organization. This study focused on a similar subject matter but connected more clearly the experiences of students navigating high school and their experiences with educators. Both these pilot studies revealed that students could not trust their educators to provide them with resources or their educator did not know how, leaving the responsibility to their families and themselves. In these studies students articulated the kind of support they wanted from their educators.

Lastly, my third pilot study was based in Arizona from 2016 to 2018. This pilot study, although different from the previous two, focused on educator's experience in developing systems of support. This study took place in a high school in Southern Arizona. The group of educators that participated in this study were part of a team of educators, all from the same school, that worked together to create resources for undocumented students. The educators were invited to participate in this study because they had worked with undocumented students in the past. Ultimately, this pilot study extended into the rest of school when a survey was created and distributed to asses educator's understanding of undocumented student experiences. Moreover, it addressed the gap the previous two pilot studies revealed. While the first two revealed the resources students needed to feel supported, the third pilot study asks what educators are doing to

connect resources with students. Conducting these three pilot studies revealed that the role of educators' in the lives of undocumented students was not clear and there was an apparent miscommunication in how educators should provide resources for their students. In all three studies this confusion stemmed from conflicting local, state, and federal policies.

In this dissertation study, I conducted a qualitative study that examined the role of educators who created, included, and enforced policy that impacted undocumented students across different states. To achieve this aim, I interviewed a team of educators, including counselors, teachers, and administrators. Similar to my pilot studies, these educators were a part of a team that meet on a regular basis to address the needs of undocumented students. These weekly meetings are in place before the study began. Therefore, only educators who are part of these meetings will be included in the study.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

With Trump's administration in place, undocumented students feel more under attack than ever (Center, 2016). While working at local high schools, students expressed their fear about going to school in case something happens to them or their families. Students do not feel safe in their schools and educators are at a loss of what they can do. One student at a high school in Arizona described these recent and ongoing attacks as a "disrespect" towards him and his community. These attacks are not likely to end within the foreseeable future and are likely to only heighten with time. Knowledge on this issue and sharing the experiences of educators who are conducting this work will allow others to follow their lead and create safe spaces for students which will empower students and advocate for their communities. In this study I seek to answer the following questions, what are the roles of educators in supporting undocumented students? In what ways do educators shape, interpret, and create policy to address the needs of undocumented students? In what ways, and through what means, do educators create networks of support considering the context of their state, city, and school?

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

It is often assumed that policy produces truths and knowledges within a society; what is just and unjust (Gildersleeve et al, 2011a). However, as Ball (1994) has argued, policy discourse reflects and produces culture, which creates a validation of truths and knowledges as self-evident. Understanding this element of policy becomes a significant factor to understand when analyzing the power of policy on undocumented immigrants. Policies are often used to define who is a criminal, who is worthy, and who is human in our society. In order to frame my discussion of policy, I utilized the notion of nation-state sovereignty – the principle of maintaining sovereignty over territory to preserve national identity and cultural values through laws (Radoff, 2011a). This notion intersects with immigration when legislative attempts work to provide undocumented students with limited education rights but no legal status, reframing it as a part of sovereignty. This tension, as Radoff describes it, is situated in the political preservation of the nation-state sovereignty and recognized human rights. Physical tension occurs because nation-state sovereignty exists through the physical and social manifestation of borders. Something which human rights politics do recognize as a factor to deny human rights. Therefore, when looking at these two colliding notions the nation-state finds itself compromising one of the two. Who is included and excluded is therefore based on legal and moral justifications of legality and illegality.

Additionally, policy became an intersectional factor, as policy – often upheld by institutions and organizations – enforced nation-state sovereignty (Koyama & Gonzalez-Doğan, 2019). In these same spaces the tension in policy interaction and creation is cultivated by the conflicting ideologies of citizenship and equality. Policies served as a nation-state citizenship to maintain the right to police state boundaries and immigration policies (Radoff, 2011). Those served as human rights asserted that everyone is equal regardless of immigration status and therefore have the "right to rights" (Benhabib, 2004). In response to this tension, scholars have

incorporated policy discourse analysis (PDA) to look at the discussion of policy, talk, action, text, and meaning, in order to understand its power (Allan, Iverson, & Ropers-Huilman, 2010). There is a special focus on ambiguities and contradictions in policy discourse as a method of oppression and/or opportunity. Through these windows we find the possibility for change (Gildersleeve, & Hernandez, 2012). Scholars (Bosniak, 1991; Benhabib, 2004; Wong ,2004) lists these as the rise of the global economy through free markets in capital, finance, and labor; the increasing internalization of mobilization, communication, and information technologies; the emergence of international and transnational cultural networks and electronic sphere; and the growth of sub- and transnational political actors.

There are clear contradictory and contemporary factors that challenge the nation-state, therefore literature on policies incorporated the importance of moving beyond human rights and into social membership. Radoff (2011a) elaborates on this argument to present the idea that the only equitable pathway to "juridico-civil rights," the right to humanity, is through intentional social membership and inclusion. Anything less, such as conditional or permanent residency or pathway to citizenship, are simply about "the rights to rights" and not actual rights. Benhabib expanded on this by stating "it is the people themselves who, through legislation and discursive will and opinion formation, must adopt policies and laws consonant with the cosmopolitan norms of universal hospitality (177)." This was a critical argument for extending protections and resources for undocumented immigrants. However, undocumented students are often held to a different standard, and are expected to prove their citizenship through education. History will show that when policy at the federal and state level has either attempted to enact civil rights or has chosen to favor the nation-state sovereignty at the cost of human life, liberty and happiness.

Federal Policy and its Role in the Lives of Undocumented Students

As I looked at the literature of policy I reflected on policy at the federal level which often touches varies aspect of students' lives and can therefore create an impact. As undocumented students simultaneously navigate their legality and their educational experience, policies at the

federal and state level could either support their academic mobility or hinder it. In the case of U.S. history, it is often a barrier that intersects education and immigration policy formation at the federal and state level and situated within K-12 and higher education. The conflation of these relationships often results in confusing and vague negated responsibilities.

Plyler v Doe

Federal government has self-assigned responsibility for concerns with regards to immigration. Conversely, states manage K-12 and higher education policies (Gilersleeve et al, 2012). Subsequently individual institutions enact practices that can either enable or contrast student access and success based on these policies. Therefore, policies related to undocumented students are often convoluted in these three spaces. In an effort to address the influence of federal policies we look at *Plyler v Doe*, in which the supreme court ruled that K-12 schools are required to provide equitable access to education for undocumented schoolchildren. The decision was based on the Fourteenth Amendment which prohibits the State from denying "any person within its jurisdiction the equal protections of the laws" (*Plyler v Doe* 1982, 457 U.S. 202, 457). This enactment shifts the rights of undocumented students as individuals rather than as citizens of the United States (Sassen, 2007, 112). As referenced at the beginning of this literature review this is contradictory to the nation-state concept. Moreover, this translates to the aforementioned "rights to right" (Radoff, 2011). Additionally, while *Plyler v Doe* grants access to education to all student regardless of immigration status, it does so by maintaining that the actions of the parents were an illegal activity. The limitations of *Plyler v Doe* lie in the representation of the law in constructing illegality and perpetuation the exclusion of "adults," defined as over the age of eighteen. Not only does this place conditions on the social acceptance of students it ultimately limits students when they age out of K-12 education.

Part of what constructs policy as a truth is the moral and social vindication that created it. Although this may or may not have been intended consequences, the Supreme Court's decision left a series of implications. In its wording, the Supreme Court favored undocumented students'

rights because they recognized that the immigration policies at the time created a "shadow population," made up of undocumented students who were acclimated to U.S. culture, but because of legal status could not gain social benefits such as educational mobility (Radoff, 2011). They noted that although this population lived, worked, and went to school in the United States they were excluded from full membership in their communities. As a result, the Supreme Court believed that a guarantee to public education would remove the creation of this "underclass." However, as Aynon (2015) argued, the Supreme Court failed to fix immigration and the discrepancies because they maintained that border crossing was a criminal act, and placed the parents at fault (Radoff, 2011a).

Although federal policies can create and rectify these sanctions, we should not rely solely on their action for sustainable change. At their best, they can be restrictions and at their worst they call on a national nativist agenda to remove rights (Olivas, 2011). In fact, we see that federal actions can be detrimental and violent towards undocumented communities. *Plyler v Doe* implicated the bodies of undocumented immigrants as plot devices in the theater of federal political battles. Past federal immigration policy has resulted in unconstitutional actions towards marginalized groups; policies such as Operation Wetback, the Bracero Program, and the Secure Border Initiative (Olivas, 2011). Olivas (2011) notes that a complete default to federal and state jurisdiction would result in continued abuses towards immigrant communities.

However, as it currently stands immigration enforcement decentralized into education to create a dysfunctional system of ambiguous and contested policies. Although *Plyler v Doe* grants K-12 education to undocumented youth, it clashes with immigration policies which perpetually exclude undocumented bodies and identity from equal rights outside of education (Radoff, 2011a). In fact, this type of legislation is repeated across the country with in-state tuition policies that provide equal rights in education but a lack of rights in every other sector (Radoff, 2011a). As a result, undocumented students cannot take their educational rights and translate them into class or other social boundaries. Access to education does not equate social membership, the way

the Supreme Court believed it would and it does not remove an "underclass" modifier. Students are therefore provided with K-12 educational rights but cannot actually possess their rights.

In addition to the limited rights it provides, *Plyler v Doe* remains vulnerable to federal legislation. Although unsuccessful, policies such as the Gallegly proposal and California's Proposition 187 attempted to ban undocumented children from schools and public services and effectively revoke *Plyler v Doe*. These attempts were challenged and largely unsuccessful, but it is essential to note that the *Plyler v Doe* decision is susceptible to federal legislation. With these factors in mind we can see that the *Plyler v Doe* decision is an example of a private effort to solve the failure that is the national immigration policy. Similarly, states have also begun to respond to the failure of immigration policy. However, federal policy limited state's' ability to extend or restrict their responses.

Post 9/11 and Education Regulation

Additionally, restriction policy showed that restrictions in state local responses to federal policies began to aggressively surface after 9/11. As Olivas (2004) has noted, dozens of statues have been enacted to address terrorism post 9/11, several of which influence undocumented immigrants and their education. For example, the USA Patriot Act, Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act of 2002, the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System and Student and Exchange Visitor Information Service. These policies served as a tracking system for international students and scholars in higher education institutions. Information, such as names, numbers, citizenship, places of birth and any foreign contact information was subject to government intervention. Section 507 of the Patriot Act created an exception in FERPA to allow the Attorney General access to student records in connection with terrorism investigations. The only group of students not obstructed by these legislations were border commuter students (Romero, 2002). These federal policies requested information from institutions, teachers, and students continued to blur the lines between immigration policy and education policy.

Similarly, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) of 1996 section 641, allowed the federal government to collect information from colleges and universities on their foreign students. Moreover, if schools refused to comply, they can affect their ability to enroll international students. This is particularly hurtful for undocumented students, who are often listed as international students in school databases. Additionally, what is particularly dangerous about IIRIRA is the vagueness incorporated in the language. This has led to significantly different interpretations in a variety of institutional spaces (Frum, 2007). However, Ruge and Iza (2005) note that regardless of the controversial interpretation of IIRIRA it does not prevent institutions from enrolling undocumented students. In fact, Texas, California, New York, and Utah have passed legislation which complies with Section 505 and allowed undocumented students to receive in-state tuition rates (Romero, 2002).

Blurred lines between federal and state, and immigration and education existed in the Student Adjustment Act of 2001. This policy repealed section 505 in IIRIRA, which returned to states the power to determine residency requirements for in-state tuition benefits at public universities and colleges. It also allowed undocumented students to adjust their immigration status to legal permanent resident, as long as they complied with certain requirements. Lastly, it allowed immigrants with adjusted status to apply for federal financial aid. Ultimately allowed undocumented immigrants to receive the same opportunities as legal permanent residents. These blurred lines between federal and state continued into the creation of policy specifically for undocumented students.

Federal DREAM Act & DACA

The literature on undocumented student policy includes conversation on the federal Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors Act, also known as the federal DREAM Act. In the midst of oppressive federal legislation advocates pushed for the passage of the federal DREAM Act. Both the House of Representatives and the Senate introduced it as a bipartisan bill and several times after in various forms between 2001 and 2010. In 2010 Senators debated a

version of the DREAM but it failed by eight votes (Olivas, 2012). The literature references the DREAM Act as the hope for undocumented students. Legally, the DREAM Act would have allowed more undocumented students to access higher education (Dougherty et al, 2010). However, the DREAM Act would only continue to obscure immigration legislation and extend federal control over education related legislation. Moreover, the passage of such a legislation would likely resulted in the states enactment and interpretation flogged with errors (Olivas, 2012).

In fact, the DREAM Act would only have repealed Section 505 of IIRIRA, which prevent states from prohibiting undocumented students from receiving in-state tuition, it does not explicitly mandate whether undocumented students would be eligible for in-state tuition. Therefore, it could not have prevented states from making policies which define who is eligible for in-state tuition and state financial aid). While the DREAM Act would have allowed undocumented students to receive in-state tuition and makes them eligible for federal aid, states will still mandate who is eligible or not (Dougherty et al, 2010). As we can see from the federal DREAM Act and the legislation listed here, there is a constant legitimization of the federal government in determining who is worthy of rights and access based on nation-state citizenship.

This type of legitimization at the federal level is reflected by Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals. On June 15, 2012, President Barrack Obama enacted an executive order known as Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA). This executive order provided undocumented immigrants with protection from deportation and a renewal two-year work permit. Undocumented individuals were applicable to receive DACA under the conditions that they arrived in the United Stated before the age of 16, lived in the United States continuously since July 15, 2007, and have a high school degree or equivalent. DACA provided undocumented individuals with the opportunity to enter the work force and provide for themselves and their families. Several students used this opportunity to enter school and re-enter the workforce. However, as of September that policy have since been removed by President Trump. Currently,

DACA and the constitutionality of its removal has made its way to the Supreme Court. On November 12, the Supreme Court judges heard oral arguments about the constitutionality of removing DACA and determine whether DACA stays or whether its removal was valid. While a decision is set to be made between January and June, DACA students remain in limbo. Despite the variation of federal policies that incriminated undocumented students, we can see the strain between immigration and education policy played out in the federal level. With this thought in mind, I expanded on the literature that focuses on state policy as it related to undocumented students.

State Policy on Undocumented Students

Federal policies confused and implicated states, as a result, states have taken the role to resolve the legislative tension between immigration and education. However, states drew on federal immigration legislation discourse to solve these issues (Gildersleeve et al 2012). For example, for instate tuition policies students are required to fill out an affidavit. confirming that students swear to their legal status and promise to seek legal counsel for their status in order to receive lower, albeit very expensive, tuition rates (Gildersleeve & Hernandez, 2010). This becomes an allusion to federal immigration legislation. One particular problem with this method of legislative approach is its use of legitimacy to acknowledge the federal government as a stakeholder in the lives of undocumented students. Moreover, it also obscured the federal immigration interests of states and legitimized the right of the state to enact education legislation (Gildersleeve and Hernandez, 2012). While affidavits provided the state with legitimacy to act in the interest of education legislation, it ultimately acknowledges that the federal government has a stake and a right to legislate opportunity for undocumented students.

In-State Tuition

When further exploring the policy behind in-state tuition, the literature demonstrated that scholars (Romero, 2002; Olivas, 2011; Gildersleeve and Hernandez, 2012) have long written that due to the complicated relationship between federal, state, and institutional responsibilities,

policies such as in-state tuition are often under attack. Olivas (2011) has noted this tension with the state's responses to the Plyler v. Doe decision. While in some states the tension created a standstill, states with larger numbers of undocumented schoolchildren facilitate enrollment in public colleges and universities. Indeed, the blurred lines between federal and state based legislation often provide ambiguous and confusing policies. Therefore, interpretation of the policy and law is often the responsibility of local institutions and their discretion.

While states have taken the initiative, they are often limited in their support for undocumented students (Serna, 2017). Additionally, federal and state legislation is often slow to respond to the needs of students and communities in educational spaces which cultivate their integration and acceptance into society (Abrego & Gonzales, 2010; Chen & Rhoads, 2016; Gonzales, 2007, 2016; Olivas, 2009, 2012). One such example is the state of Maryland which established that congress does not have the authority to regulate state benefits such as postsecondary residency or domicile issues (Olivas, 2004). Therefore, in-state residency is entirely a state-determined benefit or status. Indeed, nineteen states have created policies to extended in-state tuition benefits for undocumented students (Gildersleeve & Hernandez, 2012). What is particularly interesting about this legislation in while efforts to apprehend undocumented parents have increased in some states, such as Utah, they have also maintained benefits to legislations. However, there have also been several states which banned them from attending college, other states have refused to respond all together. The variety of these results came from a multitude of interpretations by each state. Dougherty et al (2010), have detailed out the different legislations enacted by states across the country:

> "Currently, 10 states have legislation allowing undocumented immigrant students who graduate from high school in that state to qualify for in-state tuition: California, Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska, New Mexico, New York, Texas, Utah, Washington, and Wisconsin (Hebel, 2007; Keller, 2007; Krueger, 2006; National Conference of State Legislatures, 2008; Olivas, 2010). Oklahoma had in-state tuition benefits but repealed them in 2007 (Hebel, 2007; Olivas, 2010). Four states—Arizona, Colorado, Georgia, and South Carolina—have legislated bans on eligibility (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2008, 2009a). State legislation to make undocumented students eligible for in-state

> tuition has been introduced, but failed to pass, in several states (Hebel, 2007; Keller, 2007; Krueger, 2006; Olivas, 2008, p. 116)."

States which enacted in-state tuition, have created nearly identical requirements for students to meet (Gildersleeve et al, 2012). While providing slightly more accessible tuition options for undocumented students, policy discourse analysis has uncovered anti-immigrant meaning embedded in policy. For example, in-state tuition policy also perpetuated an anti-immigrant discourse. While it provides a sense of educational opportunity for undocumented students it hinders opportunity by limiting who is worthy of in-state tuition. This message also perpetuates the idea that federal and state government must legitimize their role in the lives of undocumented students. Indeed, policy theory has been used to reveal the gaps in in-state tuition policy that give way to these unintended consequences. Specially in-state tuition policy which further created ambiguities and contradictions that can generate either constraints or opportunity with undocumented students (Gildersleeve and Hernandez, 2012).

For example, in Dougherty, Neinhusser, and Vega's piece (2010) the authors explored the politics of in-state tuition eligibility in Texas and Arizona. Through the advocacy coalition framework (ACF) they highlighted the social, economic, and political context in which policy making occurs. According to this framework, policy change occurred over lengthy periods of time within "policy subsystems" that have expertise in the policy domain (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993, 1999; Sabatier & Weible, 2007). When it has been used to look at undocumented students in education, often those who have implemented ACF focus on the influencers and policy makers for in-state tuition. Their argument concludes by explaining that specific factors in the context of each state produced significantly different policy results, it can further validate the interwoven relationship between policy and culture. However, this analysis often functioned in a limited scope; it did not address the political processes that provoked policy change (Dougherty, Neinhusser, and Vega, 2010). In an effort to address immediate and temporary political factors scholars have argued the incorporation of Policy Entrepreneurship Approach (PEA). Indeed, in an

effort to further explain the political factors that shape policy making, Dougherty, Neinhusser, and Vega (2010) used PEA to explore a variety of factors that make Arizona and Texas states which have very different in-state tuition policies for undocumented students. Both Texas and Arizona had competing advocacy coalitions, in and out of the government, who advocated with and against in-state tuition. However, the degree of opposition in Texas was significantly weaker than Arizona. Additionally, anti-government and anti-Latinx animus was not as heavily present in Texas as it is in Arizona. Moreover, the formerly enacted policies and laws and the history of immigration in the state influenced whether policy entrepreneurs were able to move the policy to their preferred venue where new actors could provide additional support. Dougherty, Neinhusser, and Vega used these frameworks to look at the implementation of in-state tuition. Olivas's (2004) work expanded on this issue by understanding the impression on undocumented students.

The political and social context of a state determined the presence and strength of policy implementation. Undocumented students and families are quite literally limited and geographically bound to the context of their state (Baum & Flores, 2011; Nair-Reichert & Cebula, 2015). Moreover, this ambiguity produced inconsistencies in the state among colleges and public campus system. Criteria for acceptance and financial support becomes difficult to administer and can therefore be manipulated (Olivas, 2004). This is particularly impactful as undocumented high school students navigated higher education and were forced to shop among colleges to utilize loopholes and inconsistencies among schools. Their experience is further exacerbated by the already existing difficulties of undocumented families. As noted by Gildersleeve and Hernández (2002), literature on undocumented students in higher education and their relation to in-state tuition has not fully examined the social and educational effects on their experience. In the following section I looked closely at Arizona and New York in an effort to examine social and educational effects on undocumented students.

Two State Focus: Arizona and New York

Understanding the context of states becomes noteworthy when exploring its control on undocumented students. In this particular study, I focused on the historical, political, and policy context of three states: Arizona and New York in an effort to incorporate a comparative approach to this study and explore the impact of each state.

Arizona

As referenced above, Dougherty et al. (2012) detailed a comparative approach to policy development of Arizona. In this study, it was clear that the politics of implementing in state tuition go beyond immigration and education but touch upon political interest. Therefore, considering the topic of my dissertation, comparative case studies was an essential methodological approach which I utilized to incorporate how legislation collides in schooling sites. While sites can be compared, comparative case study allows us to see how varied sites function in conjunction to their context. As I look at these two cities, the history, politics, and bureaucracy become critical factors in schooling experiences. These laws implicated how students and their families navigated their lives in and outside of school. Therefore, it is vital to incorporate the power of these laws on the lives of students and the role of educators.

The political framework sets Arizona apart from most states. In Arizona, coalitions – groups in and out of government who organized around beliefs about citizenship, immigration, and the role of government – have often influenced the implementation of legislation. Indeed, these coalitions have led to the implementation of several policies which specifically target undocumented immigrants. This has resulted in Arizona producing some of the most racist, xenophobic, and anti-immigrant policies in the country (Joseph & Soto, 2010; Cammarota & Aguilera, 2012; Orozco, 2012). Most notoriously, SB1070, known as the "show me your papers law" and HB 2281 the ban on Mexican American Studies. SB 1070 had a particularly detrimental impact on undocumented immigrants when it created state-sanctioned violence and surveillance on the lives of undocumented immigrants. Ultimately bills like SB 1070 were identified as laws that violated human rights and were validated through state and government

authorities (Santos et al 2013). As an "initiative referendum state" anti-immigrant policy entrepreneurs were able to drive in-state tuition legislation into the general electorate.

Additionally, in 2004 Arizona passed Proposition 200 which limited access to public benefits to citizens (Campbell, 2011). Immigration legislation then intersected with education with Proposition 300 which banned undocumented students from receiving in-state tuition in public colleges and universities. This was a blow to those who support in-state tuition because the governor of Arizona did not support prohibiting in-state tuition, but coalitions created the opportunity to ban it.

While other states have similar anti-immigrant sentiment, Arizona is unique in that there is a long –standing opposition to high levels of immigration and an anti-government sentiment, further supported by an anti-Latino hostility (Doughtery et al, 2010). With such a close proximity to the border, Arizona had a surge in undocumented immigration in the late 1990's and early 2000's. While immigration occurs in all parts of the country, Arizona's undocumented immigrant population had grown at an increasingly higher speed than other states. However, the 9/11 attacks and subsequent anti-immigrant legislation is what ultimately led to the legislation mentioned above and derailed Arizona's ability to pass in-state tuition. Moreover, the political power of Latinos in Arizona was significantly smaller than other states.

Political momentum from activist and organizing spaces have continued to do the ground work to advocate and support immigrants in Arizona. Organization like No More Deaths, Las Adelitas Arizona, and Aliento AZ, have done work to create empowering and protective spaces for immigrant communities often collaborating with other community based organization in order to provide holistic support. It's the work of these communities that has created shifts in legislation, protections for human rights activists and conversations on anti-immigrant rhetoric. Recently Arizona has begun to provide in-state tuition for DACA recipients, but it does not provide financial aid.

New York

Similar to Arizona, New York has a complicated history with immigrants' rights. While New York is a primarily conservative state for immigrants, New York City is relatively progressive, and has produced a confusing and often times contradictory environment for immigrants. Specifically I focused on how New York depicts a different history of support for undocumented students in schools. It is estimated that 625,000 undocumented immigrants reside in New York State (Passel and Cohn, 2010), with approximately 8,300 undocumented students enrolled in New York state colleges, 80 percent of which live in New York City and are enrolled in the City University of New York (CUNY) system. With regards to state based legislation for undocumented immigrants, New York City is ahead of other states. In the 1980's universities in New York, such as the City University of New York (CUNY) and the State University of New York (SUNY), put in place administrative policies that allowed undocumented students to pay in-state rates (Olivas, 1994; Rincon, 2008). Far before any other state-based initiatives New York State issued an executive order that provided in-state tuition to CUNY students regardless of immigration status (Conger & Turner, 2015). Students simply had to show that they graduated from a New York high school or received a GED from the state of New York (Rincon, 2008). The anti-immigrant climate during the 1980's made these efforts all the more notable.

However, shortly after 9/11 the CUNY Chancellor overturned this policy and declared that undocumented students who previously qualified for in-state tuition rates would pay out-of-state rates. The following year, the Governor of New York declared support for a legislation that provided in-state tuition for undocumented students in New York State.

In 2001 the New York State Youth Leadership Council (NYSYLC) led the way to push New York State law to expand the qualifications for in-state tuition. This law allowed students, including undocumented students, to pay in-state tuition if they attended a New York State high school for two or more years, graduated and applied to a university within five years of receiving their diploma or high school equivalency (New York State Leadership Council, 2015). Although

this did not provide them access to federal financial aid, some universities placed financial aid scholarships specifically for undocumented students. The student activists in New York University coordinated conversations with administration to establish an "NYU Investment" which provided scholarship access to undocumented students. In 2002, the state legislature restored in-state tuition rates for eligible undocumented students. Although in-state rates were a victory for undocumented students, there was still a discrepancy in financial aid for undocumented students. Then Governor Cuomo ran on a platform to support undocumented immigrants and the New York Dream Act. He won his election but did nothing to support undocumented immigrants. Activists held him accountable on his lack of follow through and demanded that he use his leadership to pass the bill (United We Dream, 2014).

As a response, activists pushed for the New York DREAM Act which provided undocumented students access to Tuition Assistance Program (TAP), a financial aid service that provided low-income, first generation college students with financial aid. In the ten years that the New York DREAM Act was proposed there was little cohesive support or pressure from legislators to pass the state DREAM Act. Activist organizations like the New York State Youth Leadership Council have campaigned for its passage while the State legislature itself had not made efforts to pass one, which demonstrated the climate of the state. At the beginning of this study, New York had yet to make any progress in passing this policy. However, as of January 2019 New York state passed the New York Dream Act providing access to state based financial aid for students who meet its eligibility requirements. Additionally, around the same time, New York has approved drivers' licenses for everyone including undocumented immigrants which went into effect in December 2019. Before drivers' licenses, New York City provided undocumented immigrants with city licenses that can be used to travel and as identification. This was an important victory, without access to equitable financial aid opportunities, undocumented students continue to be at a disadvantage to attend higher education.

As detailed above, the history of New York City politics shows that there was little initiative to pass the New York Dream Act until just recently. Guadalupe Ambrosio, co-executive director of the New York State Youth Leadership Council, encapsulated this sentiment in a speech she delivered, she stated "We just passed [the New York Dream Act] but it only happened because Trump is in office and people actually started to care. It's been years and years of us asking for support and nothing has been done" (Ambrosio, 2019). Indeed, while the statue of liberty has been designated a welcoming sign for immigrant communities, it is clear that the sentiment of the states has yet to create further support.

Local Policy on Undocumented Students

As I explained above the context of cities highlighted the importance of local policy in this study. When I looked at local policies at the K-12 level, I saw how restricted federal and state policies incriminated what educators could and could not do. As I described above, undocumented students are legally allowed to attend school and receive limited protections from that space. Therefore, public school functioned as navigation tools for undocumented students to enter and engage with mainstream culture (Donato, 1997; Suarez-Orozco, et al, 2008). In fact, studies have shown the educational system helps undocumented students develop their identity and engage in social norms (Lopez, 2003; Gleeson & Gonzales, 2012). Despite the importance of this institution, undocumented students are often overlooked in school policy and under examined by individual educator and organizations. Often times undocumented students are under examined because the issue of citizenship is considered a legal and individual experience (Perez, et al, 2009). This can result in extreme feelings of isolation and shame (Gonzales, Suarez-Orozco, Dedios-Sanguineti, 2013). The combination of all these factors is what makes structure such an imperative concept to understand, in order to effectively support undocumented students. The literature shows that structure can be provided for undocumented students through intentional policy practices.

Intentional Policies

Intentional policies became a necessary tool for educators and policymakers because policies and their mandates often regulated direct protocols and practices in school. This ultimately determined who belongs and does not belong in a society. As noted above, this messaging is not only communicated through text but through the words and language educators incorporate in their curriculum and language. Therefore, laws play a multitude of roles through text and other avenues. It can be evoked and utilized in unintended ways across institutions (Olivas, 2011). When the role between educators and policy became intertwined it was vital that there were intentional policies for undocumented student across educational spaces which produce a multitude of concrete initiatives to support undocumented students. For example, alternative graduation ceremonies (Gildersleeve, 2011) and underground publications (Madera et al, 2008) have provided spaces of validation and inclusion. Moreover, the creation of networks of support created and encouraged higher education institutions to change and address policies. It is through these student-initiated organizations that educators and policy makers shifted the current context of policies that implicate undocumented student activism. However, while policy provided intentional structure, shortfalls to policy also exist.

The Shortfall of Policy

Rincon (2008) expanded on the relationships between policies and their shortfalls from a critical lens and stated access to education is a civil and human right that the constitution guarantees. This became a crucial point considering that prior to *Plyler v Doe* the Supreme Court had not recognized undocumented immigrants as individuals that were protected by the fourteenth Amendment (Olivas, 2012). It's decision provided protections for undocumented students based on the assertion that educational equity should not be moderated by citizenship status (Radoff, 2011a). However regardless of the intent of the legislation *Plyler v Doe* decision did not ensure that students have comprehensive rights to their rights (Radoff, 2011a). In fact, mandates created a double edge sword that prevents undocumented students from disclosing their status to educators (Radoff, 2011a). According to *Plyler v Doe* schools prohibited the solicitation

of citizenship status from students and their families, however the interpretation of this policy in schools has communicated to educators to not engage in the student's' status. This was especially detrimental to the navigation of undocumented students because disclosing their status allows educators to share specific resources to undocumented students.

It is clear that access to education through *Plyler v Doe* is not enough to provide equitable education for undocumented students. Its decision does not dismantle social economic barriers or create political agency for students most impacted (Radoff, 2011a). As stated before, the designation of "undocumented students" has placed students outside of the traditional protection of civil rights and placed them in a separate avenue, making them vulnerable to anti-immigrant legislation (Olivas and Bowman, 2011). This is evident by the 53% graduation rate of undocumented students in high school post *Plyler v Doe*.

Therefore, what was particularly impactful of these policies is the potential of developing and empowering identity. In some instances, identity markers have been catalysts of mobilization by undocumented students through activism (Morales, Herrera, & Murphy, 2009; Huber & Malagon, 2007; Forenza et al, 2017). Ultimately, policies and its implementation relayed a clear messages to immigrant and undocumented communities on who is included and excluded. Moreover, these messages stifled students' aspirations to graduate from college or obtain higher education (Nunez et al, 2017). In a 2014 study, Bozick and Miller studied the effects of in-state tuition policies in states which provided in-state tuition. Utilizing the Current Populations Survey from 1997 – 2010, they sampled almost 65,000 participants to determine if undocumented youth enrollment rates were influenced by in-state legislation. They found that undocumented students were more likely to graduate from high school from states that have provided in-state tuition policies for undocumented students, compared to states that did not; which had lower high school graduation rates. The existence of policy acknowledged the existence and needs of undocumented students which provided them with the opportunity to formulate conversations and receive

opportunities from educators. While individual educators can certainly provide shape policy we must also understand the role of schools as organization which influence policy.

Schools as Organizations

Policy has entangled the lives of undocumented students through organizations and institutions, what we have yet to see is the process of creating policy within organizations. Policy does not function in a vacuum, rather it is obstructed by its context and vice versa. Therefore, scholars (Bidwell, 2001; Frank and Zhao, 2005; Penuel et al, 2010; Lizardy-Hajbi, 2011) looked at schools as organizations; as spaces that are also influenced by outside factors such as policy and politics. These studies found that, schools, function as organizations with practices, which influenced and were influenced by their context which has influenced practice, structure, and individuals that functioned within it. This can occur in a multitude of spaces such as policy interpretation which has been ambiguous and convoluted. Indeed, the influences of these elements varied across fields, organizations, and time. In order to create sustainable change and policy, it was relevant to understand the ways in which organizations functioned. Moreover, it was important to note when organizations and the policies they produce intersected with structures of status, race, class, and gender among other identities. Just as policy is influenced by its context, organizations are also influenced by concepts like status.

Institutional Order

In an effort to explain how organizations function, scholars like DiMaggio and Powell (1983) constructed the notion of reproduction in organizations through three categories "coercive, normative, and mimetic." They labeled coercive factors as political pressures and the state, which implements its force through regulatory oversight and control. Normative factors are defined as the role of education and professions. Lastly, Mimetic forces address habitual and responses to circumstance of uncertainty. These three factors help to explain the way organizations reproduce patterns and responses. Scott (2001) expanded on this theory when they explored the way in which organizations developed institutional order. Similarly, he defined this through three pillars;

regulative, normative, and cultural/cognitive. While regulative factor included rules and sanctioning, normative factors focused on the evaluative and obligatory scope of institutional order. Lastly, cultural/cognitive factors included conceptions and frames that create and explain meaning. Ultimately Scott's pillars helped scholars understand the creation of legitimacy through legal, moral, and cultural sanctions onto organizations. This allowed me to understand the reason why organizations abided by a certain structure. However, it is urgent to reiterate that this can be influenced by social construct like race, status and gender.

Victor Ray recently published a piece on the theory of racialized organizations. In this piece he explained how the structure of organizational theory, laid out above, played additional structural roles when Ray incorporated race. Ray (2019) theorized that organizations and their structures functioned through four tenants: 1. Enhanced or diminished agency of racial groups; 2. Legitimized the unequal distribution of resources; 3. Whiteness served as a credential; and 4. Decoupled is racialized. Ray developed these constructs and connected them directly with material resources such as policy and access.

When thinking of the racialized creation of the nation-state, Ray's point that organizations, created in the nation-state, shaped the distribution of resources along racial lines. In his article Ray described institutional levels as macro, meso, and micro. At the Macro level is institutional structures which determined group membership and state resources through state laws; meso level is organizational institutions such as schools which implicated equitable education; and micro level which includes one-on-one interactions which also created in-group tension and favoritism. When thinking of this theory in relation to status, we can see how the creation of the nation-state as a construct, defined who is worthy of being a member and who is not. This ultimately implicated all levels of institutions and all levels of organizational actors. Scholars (Sewel 1992; Bonilla-Silvia, 1997; Jung 2015) have highlighted this intrinsic connection between structure and culture and the ways in which it reproduced ideologies, impacts resources, and created animus. The inclusion of race as a racialization of organizations allowed me to

incorporate the construct of status as something that determined whether undocumented students received resources or opportunities within their organizations.

The role of educators sustaining policied becomes essential when keeping in mind influential factors such as race, gender, and legal status. Barnhardt, Phillips, Young, and Sheet (2017) conducted a study on the role of administration diversity and equity on campuses and their relation to serving undocumented students. They found that educational leaders are imperative in order for schools to shift organizational practices and work towards transforming passive indifference and regressive attitudes about undocumented students. The process of reproduction is used to create positive change for undocumented students and the intentional inclusion of other organizational actors can foster organizational accountability. These characterized groups of organizational actors who engaged in discursive spaces are structures of resistance to deficit thinking or administrators who do not work towards an equitable campus (Bensimon and Malcom, 2012). Most importantly, while the pressure of policy is significant, organizational actors do not have to wait on state and federal policymakers to resolve political disagreements over immigration to create inclusive and discursive educational environments.

Pillars of Reproduction

As educators work to create inclusive educational environments analytical structure allows us to determine which factors are the most imperative across context and to what extent these "pillars" reinforced social order and undercut others. This became a necessary step because institutions are made of a variety of elements and pressures, and function at odds with each other, nested in them, or apply differently to different individuals. It is never clear how they are structured; it is not necessarily or entirely linear or the same within a variety of contexts. Therefore, organizational analyses looks at various structures and functions in an effort to make sense of the constructed framework by which they function in the form of pillars and measures. As stated by McAdam and Scott (2005), organizational analyses evaluated observable

phenomenon in organizations. This incorporated unique structures, functions, and resources. These factors can vary and therefore were imperative to understand the systemic processes.

Pillars and measures of reproduction created an order of structure within organizational environments. In addition to these methods, organizational environments also contained multiple institutional influences. According to Meyer and Scott (1983) institutional influences then developed more internal administrative capacity and their members differentiated. DiMaggio and Powell (1991) expanded on this theory when they connected the relational and cultural aspects of membership, which included stakeholders and other members that engaged in the field and are subject to the same pressures. For example, we may look at schools and their context and a field, where some stakeholders are students, parents, and community members.

Each of these stakeholders possessed complex interests and biases which are often negotiated and contested. This is often defined as competition within the field (Hoffman, 1999). However, contestation often comes to fruition when a field became organized. Hoffman (1999) defined these processes of organization as a four-stage process: 1. increase in interaction between organizations within a field, 2. the emergence of defined patterns of hierarchy and coalition, 3. an informational load increase with which members in the field must contend, and 4. the development of mutual awareness among participants in their common field. However, it is paramount to note that organizational processes occurred during contestation and controversy when members amplified sentiments to achieve social change (Schneiberg and Soule, 2005). Therefore transformation can occur when contestation and negotiation occur.

Transformation

When applied to the experience of undocumented students Barnhardt, Reyes, Vidal Rodriguez, and Ramos (2016), addressed educational access and opportunity in higher education. In their article, they look at the multiple and competing ways institutional power and organizations manifested a specific cultural context. They centered the organization as the unit-of-analysis, they observed how providing support for undocumented students, a publicly

contested issue, intersected with organizational functions. When they observed campus administrators, they found that acknowledging political pressures and power dynamics undocumented students face, allowed organizational actors to transform their thinking about the problem and allowed them to be more receptive to solutions. This permitted organizational actors to disrupt the dominant narrative that only those in positions of power and administrative processes could provide solutions. Knowing, as an intervention, prompted transformation in organizations (Romm, 2015). Prior to their acknowledgement of power dynamics and limited agency, educators did not provide discursive opportunities for undocumented students to share their experience. Their frame shifted when pressures from the field were acknowledged and addressed. Southern's (2016) article on institutionalizing support services for undocumented students at four-year universities expanded on this work. His work referenced institutional agents who build practices to support undocumented students using their positional capital (DiMaggio, 1991). The institutional agents they interviewed supported undocumented students without the use of a resource center or institutionalized structure. Therefore, their efforts were models of agenda institutionalization.

New institutional theorists interrogated these environmental influences and the extent to which they contest and obstruct organizations (Barnhardt et al, 2016). These theorists demonstrated how an organizations' environment determined what they legitimized as social responsibility and label that as the correct response (Bieri & Boli, 2011; Marqui, Glynn, & Davis, 2007). Indeed, organization can be subject to isomorphic influences when its environment has identified their response and responsibilities (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). In fact, in some instance's institutions can force organizations to conform to the expectations of their fields or environments. Therefore, the institution can create a space where members and organizations must abide by the rules developed (Clemens and Cook, 1999). However, as institutions and organizations are influenced by political and cultural processes, the diffusion of this information is also shaped by those same forces (DiMaggio 1988; Powell, 1991; Schneiberg

and Soule, 2005). Social movements in these spaces can therefore become critical factors to disseminate and shift the acceptance of ideas.

The effect of cultural and political processes has also been addressed on multi-directional influences and conflicts. When organizational fields stretch across national borders, processes can then generate similar evaluative metrics at various levels (Djelic and Sahlin-Andersson, 2006). Research in this field approached institutional analysis through historical, political and economic institutionalism. The current literature on new institutionalism used these theories to address social shifts in a variety of fields and environments through language formation, redefinition of culture, a blending of fields and restructuring public sectors. New Institutionalism primarily focused on the field level focusing on the competition and cooperation between organizations. While the research primarily focused on the description of structure relations and the logic of a field, new institutionalism has begun to shift towards studying the competing logics and understanding contention (Scott, 2000). Indeed, work on competing logics and contestation has looked at power dynamics such as competition for resources within and between organizations which has led to tensions at different levels (Jimenez-Castellanos and Okhremtchouk, 2013).

Educators as Organizational Actors

While understanding contention can informed the outlook on power dynamics, it's crucial to keep in mind this relationship creates bureaucratic tensions which can be particularly detrimental for students and educators. As tensions manifest, a desire to shift or transform the reality of bureaucratic norms or power dynamics can create an opportunity for organizational actors to get involved. Organizational actors such as educators or administrators must therefore generate new norms through actions or ways of knowing, often through existing norms that provided legitimacy for action (Bernhardt et al, 2016). This process will often involve three factors: cultural expression; diffusion, mimesis, and emergent community order; and shock, succession, and politically reconstructed order (Schneiberg and Soule, 2005).

In Schneiberg and Soule's theory, cultural expression referred to rationalized meanings and approaches that are legitimized by systems in the field, ultimately this limits what is considered a problem and a solution. The second factor described organization's' tendency to either incorporate localized solutions or imported ones from similar spaces. This is often done to ensure legitimization and transparency to stakeholders. Lastly, shock, succession, and politically reconstructed order refer to exogenous shocks such as critical events or laws that mobilize groups to search for alternative solutions and incorporate new actors in order to gain power in organizations and fields. Additionally, research has also explored regulations and legal mandates as endogenous forces and not simply exogenous constraints (Edelman, 1992; Dobbin and Sutton, 1998; Edelman et al, 1999). Scholars therefore explored how homogenizing pressures exerted similar influences throughout organizations and their environments.

As a result, organizations are not subject to the same set of pressures as professionals and organizational actors and therefore, and do not respond in the same way. Rather, their responses to laws and the extent to which organizations constructed the law can vary. The difference in responses between organizations and internal actors drew concern to agency in institutionalization. As scholars made note of the difference in agency between institutions and organizational actors, it became imperative to recognize that institutionalization is a political process (DiMaggio, 1988). Indeed, the success of any process in organizational analysis depended on the power of the actors who steer the process. Therefore, new institutionalism as a theory looked at the ways in which organizational fields had multiple influences, are controlled by requirements and regulations, and are influenced by political powers. Moreover, new institutionalism explored how to directly measure legitimacy which can be underlined by processes which are influenced by power dynamics.

Institutional Implementation

New institutionalism as a theory is moving in the direction to address the following: 1. forces that account for institutional heterogeneity and homogeneity; 2. direct measurement of

institutional effect; and 3. competing, multi-level, nested processes within fields and across nations. As institutional theory situates the relationships between policy and practice it incorporated factors that influence its implementation at the local level, such as schools. Institutionalization also makes note of the differences in context and policy, this is particularly true for undocumented students who often navigate different policies depending on their home state. This is especially true when ambiguous policies created a space for differences in implementation and practice, such as I described through federal and state policy in the United States. Of course, as Lizardy-Hajbi (2011) described, institutional theory also incorporated social and cultural norms that shape policy formation at all levels of construction and implementation. Anti-immigrant norms and misconceptions regarding undocumented immigrants impacted the way in which organizational actors interpret policy differences.

The factors listed above, and the ways in which they manifest are particularly relevant for undocumented students who often relied on organizational actors to interpret, shift, and develop laws that impact their experience in educational organizations. Indeed, organizational actors, such as administrators, often interpreted ambiguities in policies as students negotiated their inclusion in education and anti-immigrant sentiments (Barnhardt et al, 2017). This is a particularly complicated issue when state and federal entities create restrictive immigration enforcement through policies. Aforementioned, this often conflicts with a variety of fields and environments that undocumented students navigate and experience their limited rights (Gleeson and Gonzales, 2012).

However, there exists limited research on institutionalism and undocumented students in education. Moreover, the work that exists on this subject has produced limited resource guides and methods to support undocumented students. For example, guides that have been produced focus on higher education and their campuses. These resource guides, some published by the U.S. Department of Education, provided examples of actions to create a campus climate for undocumented students and help raise awareness on the undocumented students experience at the

college and university level. Although higher education spaces can create and shape policies to provide loopholes, it is necessary to question why we continue to rely on higher education spaces rather than create policy in K-12 spaces. There is very little work on the political implications of policy that has been implemented in K-12 spaces, but it is vital that we deconstruct policy and discuss the social implications on undocumented students. When each year, one-fifth to one-sixth of undocumented students are pushed out of high school, it is clear that policy needs to be enacted at the K-12 level.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

Policy as Power

With the literature in mind it was clear that policy and organizational agents who created and interpreted policy are instrumental to the support of undocumented students in K-12 spaces. Therefore, my study draws on policy as practice as a theoretical framework. Institutions have played a role in the policy making and enforcing process. However, in order to make policy a normative discourse, it is necessary that policy be bound in institutional and social-political conditions. Indeed a "will to policy," policy as an action, must exist in order for policy to become normative discourse. Hamann (2003) referred to these moments as "windows of policymaking opportunity." However, these moments are fleeting and are subject to political whims and social crisis. Certainly, these structures show policy as a manifestation of power by elites for the intent of distributing public goods (Bhola, 2000). Studies have explored policy as power to deconstruct the ways in which policy, under capitalism, benefits power elites. Often policy, as a state apparatus, perpetuated itself as a neutral and objective tool through it's legal-rational idioms (Shore & Wright, 1997). However, scholars proved this to be a false narrative within policy studies.

It is clear that structures are influenced by social inequalities and power structures. As the literature continued to focus on social justice in a democratic society, it reflected a critical critique: the study of policy must come from a critical standpoint. This rational has allowed

scholars to dialogue through critical socio-cultural approaches and incorporate policies and theory of practice to address the ways in which policies can evoke deficit approaches to address problems. Initial critical policy studies examined whether the policy was implemented and whether it worked. This did not incorporate social theory, rather it is it is evaluative in nature (Troyna, 1994; Young, 1999). Critical discourse theorist expanded on this work by asking what policy is and coming to the conclusion that policy as a structure extended the interest of those who disproportionately wield power. Hammon et al (2001) study made note that often those most vulnerable are scapegoated as problems. In their study, they found that Latinx immigrants were labeled as problems within a community. Subsequently, policies served to limit alternative ways in which the "problem could be solved," by scapegoating their existence. This work exposed what policy does and the ways in which approaches can critique existing norms of domination. This allows scholars to begin focusing the ways in which policy can be situated in practice and how that practice has utilized power.

Policy as Practice

Sutton and Levinson (2001) expanded on policy as power by connecting it with practice. They provided a definition of policy and the reconceptualization of policy as an ongoing practice, to provide a framework for the ways in which policy interacts and creates knowledge and meaning between actors and institutions. Primarily, policy is understood as laws or normative structure, often enforced or validated my government structure. What scholars often try to understand is whether policies have been successfully implemented and whether they have been successful.

Policy Makers

Sutton and Levinson (2001) defined policy as a social practice and ongoing process of cultural production, influenced by diverse contexts and actors. When applied in contexts and in situations, actors, policy and situations informed one another. Often times policies, at their inception are created to identify problems, based on a context that the status quo is inadequate

and creative actions must be taken (Hammon et al, 2001). Policy, ideally, is defined as a text that defines reality, orders behavior, and allocates resources to implement the policy. It is meaningful to note that policy is a complex and ever evolving social practice made up of normative cultural production influenced by diverse actors and contexts. It provided positive and negative sanctions, essentially creating a measure of how things should be done. Policy could be formal, officially authorized by government or enforcement mechanisms; or informal, created by outside agencies. Therefore, it can exit is various forms, text or otherwise.

Policy makers can include legislators, administrators, and political actors and others responsible for creating policy. Those that are not responsible for making policy can also create policy to enact social order. However, as noted by Koyama (2004) practitioners must be included as policymakers and therefore the interaction between policy, practitioner, and setting helps shape the historical and political framework in a context. Indeed people, policy, and place impact the implementation and interpretation of policy across contexts, which are further influenced by politics and power (Honig, 2006). This evolved definition expanded who can participate in policy and how policy is influenced by democracy and policy (Santos and Avritzer, 2005). The incorporation of policy as practice allowed scholars to focus on action in policy and conceptualize the policy process into these interdependent sociocultural practices. Ultimately this allowed scholars to incorporate a more democratic practice of policy (Levinson et al, 2009). Levinson, Sutton, and Winstead (2009) propose that we look at policy as a practice of power. This places scholarship in a position to create the question and the need to critique domination and legitimacy.

Policy as Practice of Power

As alluded before, politics and power implicate efforts to create policy and must therefore be understood. In fact, the literature will show that the exploration of policy as text has often been used to call to attention the normalizing of power as policy (Shore and Wright, 1997). Policy as the practice of power can also manifest through informal policy measures (Levinson et al, 2009).

Levinson and Sutton (2011), continued their work by expanding that informal policies can be identified in activities and practices in non-authorized policy. For example, organizational actors or local policy actors interpreted and negotiated policy, often influenced by their contexts and interactions with other outside factors. Levinson and Sutton (2001) write on the tactic of "appropriating" policy in an effort to selectively adapt policy as a resource. Datnow et al (2002) expanded on this work by showing how actors in the educational system drew on privileges and interpretations to influence reform and policy. The literature makes a crucial point to define the difference between authorized policy and unauthorized policy through these rationales. That is to say, unauthorized policy existed when authorized policy is appropriated by organizational agents.

Moreover, scholars encourage the use of appropriation to understand policy process. Appropriation, as Spillane et al (2002) argued, should be incorporation as it allows us to understand sense making of local actors through informal types of policy making through authorized policy. This process is particularly influential because context outside of schools, such as state and local institutions and organizations created a policy making context and policy actors existed in these spaces (Ball, 2010; Hamann and Lane, 2004).

Indeed, studies have shown how policy functioned as a practice of power to pursue the benefits of the elites (Flyvberg, 1998), often concealed through democratic ideals, rationalist tactics and by reflecting its context (Beck, Giddens, & Lash, 1995; Giddens, 1991). With regards to education policy, scholars have incorporated backwards mapping approach in order to understand why policy is not welcomed or effectively implemented in a local context (Dyer, 1999; Elmore, 1980). Moreover, policy process looks at the multitude of stages where policy is implemented to acknowledge impact and consequences (Coburn, 2001; Datnow, Hubbard, & Mehan, 2002; Hamann & Lane, 2004; Raab, 1994; Spillane et al., 2002; Zahariadis, 2003).

Education policy research has also moved to a more critical approach to understand the construction and meaning of policy. For example, prior literature focused on mistaken interpretation and efforts to sabotage policy as reasons that policies are not correctly

implemented. However, Spillane et al (2002) study notes incorporated and "integrative framework" is used to understand the construction of meaning and the ways in which policy is not implemented effectively or enthusiastically. This framework consists of the individual implementing agent, the situation in which they “make sense”, and the policy signals which the agent encouraged. Therefore, the experience, knowledge, and beliefs of the organizational agent is identified as a factor that influences the construction of meaning. While this produced a serious tenant of policy as practice, it is relevant to acknowledge that power as a dynamic factor of this process.

Critical Policy Analysis

In order to address power as a dynamic factor of policy as practice, critical education policy analysis emerged. This field brought forth a critique of the social reproduction of inequality and hegemony through Gramsci’s and Foucault’s social theories (Apple, 1982; Apple & Weis, 1983; Ball, 1991, 1993; Ozga, 1999; Gale 2007; Popkewitz, 2000). This work elaborated how policy as a form of discourse (Bacchi, 2000), functioned as an ideology when its formation is influenced by elites. Indeed, scholars have explored the ways in which power constructed local experience through policy. Policy analysis has looked at legal anthropology to continue to understand this issue. Through the notion of legal pluralism (Merry, 1988), scholars have interrogated similar dynamics in the policy domain through the relationship between state legal systems and social order.

Meaning Making in Practice

Although policy takes many forms it is essential to note its construction as a practice. It's through this discourse that we can interrogate the ways in which interest exists in normative policy discourse, and the ways in which they are negotiated through a politically and culturally viable form. Negotiation, in the traditional form is understood as a practice between opposing interests. In the sociocultural sense negotiation is a method to account for meaning; in which policymaker negotiate meaning and understanding. Negotiation often led to social action and

therefore policymaking (Levinson et al, 2009). This interaction is often understood as a function of structure and agency, which allowed a connection to the practice of structure in policymaking (Bourdieu, 1990).

Expanding on this notion of structure, Lave and Wenger's (1998) concept of Community of Practice (COP) explored policy formation and what happens when it is negotiated and appropriated. This allows scholars to situate appropriation as knowledge and meaning making. With this concept, w meaning making was understood as a part of practice. Moreover, as meaning making involved negotiating, learning and the interactions with one another became a way to create and learn from meaning. Certainly, studies have shown that "nonsystem actors" often help to transform policy ideas and can link accountability in political context and policies at varying levels of education.

These interactions are what connects negotiation with COP. Wenger (1998) defines COP consisting of mutual engagement, joint enterprise, and share repertoire (Wenger, 1998). These three interactions functioned with each other and cannot function independently of each other. Mutual engagement is defined as members in a community who interact on a regular basis and negotiate and make meaning of their actions. In the case of education, we see these individuals as the organizational agents. Enterprise is defined as joint project developed by the community, also subject to negotiation, it does not necessarily require agreement, rather it requires communal negotiation. Lastly, share repertoire is a series of stories, gestures, actions, and concepts produced by the community and adopted by the community. Similarly, appropriation has been connected to COP as a process which norms of one social group are adapted by another group. Appropriation occursed when policy formed within one COP meets another COP, which is shaped by institutional conditions. The theoretical construct and concepts listed above created policy as a practice of power to engage and understand the ways in which policy and policy making incorporates several diverse agents, institutions and context.

Conclusion

My research explicitly focused on the idea of diverse agents, institutions, and contexts to understand the ways in which educators create networks of support for undocumented students in high schools. I established an understanding of policy as a manifestation of citizenship at varying levels in the United States. By situating these policies in the context of education we can see how ambiguous and vague immigration and education policy initiatives can confound the role of educators and their support for undocumented students. Therefore, my study sought to complicate this work by exploring the ways in which educators, in very different contexts interpret, appropriate, negotiate, and create policy in order to effectively support their students.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN

My dissertation drew from several data sets – educators' experience, school based resolutions, local policy efforts, state policies, and federal legislations – all represented differently across three states. As with any applied research, I used methodological functions with a level of flexibility (Grady and Wallston, 1988). While some research designs move in linear stages (i.e. problem formulation, generate conclusion, etc.) my research sought to follow a less restrictive process. For example, my qualitative study consisted of collecting data, developing theory, exploring validity threats, instead of these functioning in varying stages, all these parts will be occurred simultaneously. Therefore, as I collected data for one state reflected on the validity of another state, this allowed me to modify my theory or design. This process allowed for constant reflection throughout every step of the project, a quality that is often practiced in qualitative studies (Yin, 1994; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). Maxwell (2012) called this process an interactive model, which allowed the researcher to understand how components of the study, such as laws, policy, and politics, are affected by each other and across states, without a structured order or directionality.

I incorporated this methodology is to understand the political and policy structure of my study which allowed me to treat it as a part of the research and not simply as an abstract. Kaplan (1964) referred to this as a "logic-in-use" method. This implicit design allowed me to apply it to my methodology. Moreover, by not pre-structuring my methods I gave intentional focus to validity and contextual understanding (Huberman and Miles, 1998). Although, this also meant that I could not necessarily generalize my study, this is preferred for my type of work which focuses on the varying policies at every institutional level. As a result, generalization could have been a hindrance to my study. For example, if I attempted to apply findings in New York and Arizona to Texas or Florida context, I would have found that policies and politics will prevent a cohesive integration. As I worked with organizations through my pilot studies in each of these states, I found that practices I developed in one state do not apply to another state. However, I laid out a tentative plan for certain aspects, such as interviews, demographics, and leave open other parts to revisit when necessary.

Lastly, my qualitative data collection consisted of collecting data on educators and their role in creating policy and networks of support for undocumented students. Through data analysis, I developed and modified existing theory on the roles of educators in supporting undocumented students in K-12 institutions. Ultimately this allowed me to modify and develop my research questions . As I collected data, I focused on a combination of reflective design and structured interviews, field notes, which allowed me to identify and address validity and ethics throughout the study in reflection and action, collaboratively known as praxis (Freire, 1993).

Sites

This study was conducted in two cities across two different states, New York City, NY and Tucson, AZ. As described in the literature review, New York and Arizona are two states that represent two different types of legislative practices in the United States. New York is one of nineteen states that provides in-state tuition and state-based financial aid, and Arizona is one of five states that does not have a tuition equity law, but undocumented students may be eligible to

pay in-state tuition at some colleges/universities (United We Dream, 2017). Of the remaining states in the United States, two fall under the denomination of "States that ban the enrollment of undocumented students but may allow DACA recipients to enroll," another two states fall under "States where some colleges ban undocumented students from enrolling," and twenty fall under "States with no existing tuition equity law or policy." I chose these two states and I selected them based off their varying policies and my connection with community activism.

Comparative Case Study Approach

This research study also utilized a comparative case study approach to understand the impact of context in relation to the role of educators. Therefore, I incorporated a comparative case study approach to analyze New York City and Tucson and their individual contexts. The comparative case study approach, proposed by Bartlett and Vavrus (2006), called for a new approach to comparative and international education studies. This approach drew from Crossley's and Vullimany's (1984) call for ecological validity, which noted the importance of contextual factors in educational spaces. However, Barlett and Vavrus used comparative case study to expand this approach. They incorporates other contextual factors such as the history of the site, social structures present, and national and international entities that influence the site. This approach allowed researchers to re-center local knowledge in the research, and essential factor in this study. Therefore, in an effort to re-center local knowledge I looked at these two cities, the history, politics, and bureaucracy become critical factors in schooling experiences.

Comparative Case Study approaches are not new to understanding undocumented student experiences and policies. In 1989 West and Moore compared the impact of policies of control on undocumented workers in the United States and in South Africa. This study is a historical comparison of policies of control enacted on undocumented immigrants in both countries. While the policies in both countries have vastly shifted since 1989, West's and Moore's point is just that, shifting policies implicate the experience of undocumented immigrants in both countries. In 1997 Vogel, a scholar from Breme University utilized a comparative case study approach to

understand what policies influence the migratory decisions of undocumented Brazilian immigrants in London and Berlin. Vogel interviewed a group of 36 undocumented immigrants about their decision to migrate. The author was able to take into account and identify the impact of control policy, labor markets, and legalization process. Similarly, Lazaridis and Romaniszyn (1998) utilized a comparative case study approach to interview 60 Albanian and Polish undocumented immigrants in Greece. Their study found that post-communist revolutions in both countries is an economically triggered economic migration flow into Greece. Closer to my study was Cuardra's (2011) research on rights of access to health care for undocumented migrants in the European Union. In this study Cuandra categorized several European countries into three categories dependent on how they provide access to health care to undocumented migrants. Similar to my study, Cuandra was not only able to identify the difference within the European Union, but how these differences could be viewed when compared to other countries outside of the European Union.

Cuarda's study, was the most recent study to explicitly utilize comparative case study approach to understand the undocumented student experience, it called on research to continue utilizing this approach to understand the holistic experience policy has on undocumented immigrants. All these studies highlighted how context not only influenced how policy is created but how it impacted access to resources and rights.

Population

Moreover, both of these states are states with the highest number of undocumented immigrants. While 775,00 call New York home and 325,000 in Arizona (Michelle, 2016). Additionally, New York City is part of the top two of the top 20 metro areas that are home to six in ten undocumented immigrants (Passel & Cohn, 2017). The New York-Newark-Jersey City metropolitan area tops the list with 1,150,000. Within these areas New York has the largest undocumented immigrant populations with 525,000. For Arizona, the Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale metropolitan area is tenth on the list. Additionally, both New York and Tucson are connected to

borders. Arizona's proximity to the southern border, make it a critical location to include while New York borders the northern border with Canada.

With regards to school aged youth, of the undocumented population in New York City, which includes Manhattan, Brooklyn, Bronx, and Queens, 22,000 are under the age of 16, while 57,000 are between the ages of 16 and 24. While undocumented youth between the ages of 3 to 17, about 91% are enrolled in school. That number drops to about 33% for undocumented youth between the ages of 18 to 24 (Migration Policy Institute, 2018). Lastly Pima County, in southern Arizona, has the largest percentage of undocumented youth the compared to New York City. Undocumented youth under 16 years old make up 11% or 3,000 of the undocumented immigrant population, while undocumented youth between the ages of 16 to 24 make up 14% or 4,000 of the undocumented immigrant population (Migration Policy Institute, 2018). However, trends in school enrollment remain the same. About 95% of undocumented youth between the ages of 3 and 17 are enrolled in school. That number drops to 29% between the ages of 18 to 24. The school districts I selected for this study could not provide numbers of undocumented youth enrolled in their schools, as it is against the law to ask students about their status.

Immigration Resolutions in Schools

When selecting these two cities, it was also necessary to understand the difference in which their school districts have chosen to vocalize and practice their support for undocumented students. In Tucson, Arizona for example the Tucson Unified School District, the largest district in Tucson, their school board passed a resolution stating "the Governing Board and the District, and its administration, teachers, counselor, and staff will support all students equally, whether their immigration status is documented or undocumented." The vote was not unanimous, as Michael Hicks, the president at the time voted no. The statement goes on to add that "Discrimination against children, beyond being illegal, harms them emotionally, socially, and economically, in ways and degrees that cannot be fully known or measured because their effects last throughout entire lifetimes." While there is an intent to support undocumented students the

use of the slur, "illegal," is worrisome in this statement (Stribley, 2017). Moreover, Phoenix's Unified School District's statement goes beyond TUSD's to add that they will support students "regardless of changes in law or policy." TUSD's statement lacks this additional push, a vital statement considering President Trump's anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim campaign (Safier, 2017).

In New York City, the Department of Education and the Mayor's office have released a joint statement in which they are "committed to protecting the right of every students to attend public school, regardless of immigration status… including undocumented students." This statement is available on the NYC Department of Education website. It goes on to state that they do not permit Federal agents, including Immigration and Custom's Enforcement (ICE), to enter schools, "except when absolutely required by law." It also states they do not track immigration status of their students and families, unless absolutely required by law (NYC DOE, 2018). Last year the chancellor also released a statement issuing the continued commitment to protect the right of every student regardless of immigration status. This statement, similar to the one just issued this year, also states that immigrant families have access to immigration legal services, and city service (Fariña, 2017). Much like Tucson, NYC has also faced instances where Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents attempted to enter schools in order to kidnap students and families. The most recent of these cases in May 2017, a USCIS agent was turned away from an elementary school in Queens, New York when they came looking for a fourth-grade student (Durkee, 2017). The school's refusal to cooperate was in line with NYC DOE policy on federal immigration agents which details immigration guidance for principals (NYC DOE, 2018). This statement specifically states, "DOE does not consent to non-local law enforcement accessing school facilities in any circumstance, and principals and other school personnel may not give consent."

Participants: Incorporating Educator Narratives

Keeping resolutions and policies in mind, my study looked at the role of educators in supporting undocumented students through policies. I defined educators as any individual who works with students in any capacity. This can be a teacher, counselor, administrator, manager, and activist. While I used educators as a broad definer for the participants, I specified their role in the school when necessary. Educators in this study have some previous experience supporting undocumented students and were often identified as the go-to person in the school. They have developed methods and resources for their students while navigating their roles, policy, and responsibilities. Their narrative was a particularly important one to incorporate because of the wealth of knowledge they have cultivated in their role. Often these educators share their knowledge with colleagues but rarely is it documented or structured in a document.

In this study I centered the experiences of educators. Which allowed me to study and understand the role of educators can mean a multitude of different things, as educators often play the role of teacher, social worker, parental figure, and friend. They have often provided a stable and reliable source of support for undocumented students. In fact, this can be the case for all students regardless of immigration status. However, when immigration status is introduced as a factor, we can see that undocumented students also need a trustworthy contact for legal resources and social guidance. In my current position I provide undocumented students with these resources and more at a higher education institution. I've conducted this kind of work at several higher education institutions in California, New York, and Arizona. Therefore, I can understand the plethora of knowledge needed to truly advocate with and for undocumented students. Moreover, when I worked in High Schools I provided resources which were heavily impacted by the climate of the school and the context of the state. This study grew from my personal experience when I navigated high school as an undocumented immigrant and when helped my students navigate high school 10 years later. In that 10 year time frame roles have changed and with the ever shifting political context roles will continue to adapt to change. This study worked to understand

the roles of educators in an effort to keep in mind how other educators can support undocumented students either in these states of in orders.

Shifting the Lens of Research

Moreover, this was not a field which had been extensively researched. Often when looking at providing and creating spaces of resistance and advocacy, researchers seek to incorporate the experiences of those most directly impacted, such as undocumented students. This has been true in practice and in research, where the narratives of undocumented students are shared and exposed in order to be shared and witnessed. However, because of the trauma, vulnerability, and exhaustion related to experiences with this narrative, it is necessary to reflect and question research methods. This practice can determine whether our research is in line with communities being researched or simply using their narratives for academic exposure. Ultimately, research is inherently political and our actions as researchers are also political. Therefore, through my own experience and the experiences of my community, I reflected on the ways in which my research should be constructed in order to attempt to be in line with those closest to my work.

As a result, this study does not focus on the undocumented student experience, instead I focused on the educator experience. Firstly, my shift from student to educator is in an effort to shift the gaze of research away from those most-directly impacted. The ethical standards of the academic industrial complex are recent in their development. Therefore, they do not fully ensure that research is ethical, meaningful, or useful to those most directly-impacted or to communities being researched (Tuck & Yang, 2014). Postcolonial literacies and critical literatures on settler colonialism (Sedgwick, 1990; Wolfe, 1999; Simpson, 2007; Spivak, 2010; Morris, 2010) has well documented that social science often works to collect stories of pain and humiliation in the lives of those being researched. Often these narratives are commodified in order to interpret and monetized the experience for intellectual consumption. This is overwhelming in the case for undocumented student research.

Indeed, this was the concern that was brought up by my own community members when I conducted research in New York that centered on the experiences of students navigating high school. In working with the New York State Youth Leadership Council, the first undocumented youth led organization in New York City, I began to conduct research with their permission. Through their help I reached out to students, and they also brought up their concerns with research and academia. They shared that researchers come in to take knowledge, uproot trauma, and leave the experience with more power and a greater benefit. My friends articulated what Tuck and Yang (2014) reaffirmed, in research, whether critical or not, the research subject can speak but is only invited to speak on their pain. As academia does not provide adequate measures to prioritize those most directly impacted, the call to refuse or the stance to refuse even within research is an attempt to place limits on what is not up for discussion and what is sacred, from academia and research. My rationale comes from my personal experience, the concerns my friends and community have articulated, and postcolonial literacies that demand limits on who is under the gaze of the researcher.

Secondly, with refusal in mind, I shifted my gaze to individuals in positions of power who are not vulnerable to narratives of pain in research such as policy practices of educators. That is not to say that educators do not experience pain and humiliation in their professions, rather my focus is on what they contribute to the advocacy of undocumented students and the policies they create that serve students. Lastly, this is a crucial space to look at because schools' function as a tool of social reproduction, often left unexamined by school and district personnel (Irizarry & Brown, 2014). As a result, schools determined how social goods, such as power status, worth, and academic intelligence are thought about, discussed, and distributed in society and scholars have highlighted (Gee, 2005; Ray, 2019). This is further manipulated in schools through a hierarchy of power. Irizarry and Brown (2014) listed the chain of command in schools as the federal and state department of education, school administrators, classroom teachers, and students in descending order. What is learned, practiced, and advocated is determined by this

power dynamic. Power is secured when control and limiting power to others is exercised, often through the threat and use of sanctions (Fine, 1991). Therefore, a shift from the dominant logic to a critical examination shifts the focus to the inherented power that institutional actors have, to influence those most directly impacted (Bensimon, 2007; Chase et al, 2013; Nuñez, 2014; Barnhardt et al, 2017). In this study I intended to shift the gaze of critique from students to the institutions that affected them, I sought to critically examine the role of educators and policy as practice.

Participants and Recruitment

Using purposeful sampling (Patton, 2000), I recruited participants (See Figure 1) through their attendance in a formal or informal Educators Task Force at their school. In NY, educators across the state's public schools have formed an Educators Task Force. The Educators Task Force stemmed from a series of workshops which taught educators resources to support undocumented students and create best practices. These workshops were in such high demand that educators began to create resources for their colleagues. There was a clear need and interests for this information. The group of educators that provided these workshop ultimately created a website in which they could share these resources. Ultimately, they decided to create a task force that meets once a month to share resources, plan actions, and collaborate with community organizations to continue supporting undocumented students. For the protection of the participants I am unable to share the name or other details of how this group was created or who runs it. In seeking participants I wanted to interview educators who were a part of tasks forces like these. My previous work with a community organization connected me with this group. Educators in this group received a recruitment letter from me. I continued to recruit educators until at least two of the following roles were identified: counselor, teacher, and administrator, from the same school has been identified.

In Arizona, I also worked with an Educators Task Force to support undocumented students. While the NY educators task force expanded throughout the state, the task force in

Arizona was concentrated in one school. The creation of this task force began when the only two Spanish speaking staff members in the school were overwhelmed with questions and concerns regarding student's safety and status. These two educators brought together other educators and met once a month to discuss ways to raise awareness and support their students. While the group was small it was able to to continusly meet for three years. They continued to meet and worked to communicate the needs of undocumented students. This ultimately resulted in a student group and more awareness across the campus. Similarly, I drafted a recruitment letter and asked educators to participate in this study. I conducted the same procedure to recruit all forms of leadership. While educators were a part of this taskforces they had not received any kind of recognition nor payment for their labor. In fact, these educators volunteered to be a part of these groups and often educated themselves to continue supporting students through this group.

While the creation and reach of both spaces varied, I focus on how educators who actively participate in these networks identified their role, engaged in policy, and utilized networks to support undocumented students. When I utilized comparative analysis approach, the practices and tools that educators created provided a space of conversation and analysis between two states with varied policies. Throughout the study I bared in mind the context of each state in order to find true similarities and difference between each space.

The only eligibility criteria for educators was they must have worked with fellow educators more than once to support undocumented students at their schools. For example, educators who were a part of the school's "Educators Task Force" were eligible participants. Throughout the three schools at least a total of six educators will be interviewed and at most twelve. This was purposeful in order to address educators in the lives of undocumented students and all forms of leadership in schools. This practice allowed me to establish comparisons for contexts across states. This meant that different roles – teacher, counselor, and principal – were included in both states, which allowed for a true comparison of both spaces. I also took into account feasibility of data collection, analysis, validity, goals, and conceptual frameworks.

Data Collection

Once I received confirmation from potential participants, I confirmed that they meet the criteria set by my study. Once confirmed I set up a time and space for the interview to be conducted and scheduled. These interviews were done in a private space in order to ensure the participants' privacy. Participants were provided with a summary of the study, goals, their rights, and a consent form. Participants were also asked if they consent to the interview recording. I received IRB approval to obtain verbal consent from educators in order to not disclose their status.

Once consent was granted, the interview began with demographic questions. At the end of the interview I asked participants if they have final comments or if they wish to retract anything they had shared. Throughout the interview process I maintained an interview journal in which I kept notes and memos about the interview. Specifically, this journal noted physical reactions, body language, shifts in tone and serve as a personal tool for writing reoccurring comments, emerging concepts, observations, and ideas.

Instrumentation

A demographic questionnaire and semi-structured, open-ended interview tool were used to collect data for this study.

Demographic questionnaire

This questionnaire consisted of close-ended questions such as: age, gender, race, ethnicity, length of time at the school and their roles, length of time in their city, knowledge of resources, understanding of legislation that impacts undocumented and DACA students, and connection with educator task force. The participants pseudonyms were also identified via this questionnaire. These questions provided me with a holistic understanding of the personal experiences and knowledge educators possess.

Protocol

This study's protocol included an open-ended questionnaire. As described above, the process of this study embraced fluidity so that the creation of data informs the protocol and data

Participants

Figure 1 - Participants in the Study

Name	Pronouns	Education	Degree	Race	Ethnicity	Years Working	Role	State
Becky	She/hers	MA	Bilingual & Multicultural Education	White	n/a	5 years	Spanish Teacher	AZ
Jessica	She/hers	BA	Mexican American Studies	n/a	Latina	2 year	College Advisor	AZ
Kelly	She/hers	PhD Candidate	Educational Leadership	White	Non-Hispanic	3 years	Teacher	AZ
Gabriela	She/hers	MA	Social Work	n/a	Hispanic	9 years	Office Manager	AZ
Julia	She/hers	MA	School Counseling	White	European	17 years	Career & Technical Specialist	AZ
Robert	He/his	MA	Educational Leadership		Hispanic/ Mexican	10 years	Vice Principal	AZ
Angie	She/hers	MA	Teaching	Indian	n/a	3 years	9th Grade English Teacher	NY
Anthony	He/his	MA	Arts & TEOSL	White	n/a	6 years	ESL Teacher	NY
Max	He/his	MA	Humanities	White	n/a	10 years	12th Grade ESL Teacher	NY
Judy	She/hers	MA	Teaching	White	n/a	6 years	11th Grade AP Teacher	NY
Leo	He/his	Associates	Liberal Arts	Latino	Peruvian	6 years	Parent Teacher Coordinator	NY
Ruth	They/them	MA	Race & Ethnicity	White	n/a	6 years	9th Grade Teacher	NY

collection. Therefore, the questions were constructed to prevent the participant from feeling restricted by the interview. The questionnaire also incorporated probing questions in order to gain as much insight as possible into the experience, knowledge, and practice of educators. A protocol rationale table was constructed in the initial stages of the development of the questionnaire. This table included existing literature on educator's creating and practicing policy in order to support undocumented students, as well as literature on the experiences of undocumented students in K-12 spaces. The protocol questions revolved around the experience of educators working with colleagues and students to support and advocate for undocumented students in their schools as well as their motivation to support. An example of questions asked included: "Please tell me about your experience in an Educator's Task Force at your school," "How does your task force advocate for undocumented students in your high school," "Why are you involved in these efforts?," and "What differences have you noticed among students, colleagues, and the school at large, that you believe was influenced by this task force?"

Prior to its implementation, this protocol was piloted to an educator. I interviewed a former educator who met all the criteria of this study, I selected their pseudonym, and they provided verbal consent to have their interview recorded. I took notes during the interview and transcribed it. I shared and debriefed with my dissertation chair to confirm that the questions were adequate for my study.

Protection of Participants

As stated before, the confidentiality of the participants was prioritized in order to ensure their protection. As a result, I received IRB approval that all participants could provide a verbal consent for the interview, instead of a signature. This was particularly important for educators in Arizona, which has a history of reprimanding educators and researchers for participating in social justice research and work (Meyerson, 2016; Zehr, 2016). Additionally, in order to secure the participants confidentiality, I kept any identifiable data in a password protected external hard drive. In order to further insure participants of their confidentiality I explained the specifics of the

confidentiality process in the consent form. Upon receiving identifiable information, I created pseudonyms for each participant. For organizational purposes, one document was kept linking participants identities to pseudonyms and codes. This document was kept on a password protected file in my personal laptop. It was separate from the rest of the study and was destroyed immediately upon the study's completion.

Data Analysis

My process of data analysis included categorizing, connecting, and qualitative analysis through etic and emic coding. In selecting emic and etic coding I attempted to understand educators' ideas, belief, and behaviors surrounding policy creation and practices regarding undocumented students (Erickson and Murphy, 2008). Usually emic coding manifested through the literal words of the participants. Therefore, emic coding was often meaningful to those that identify within the group. My work sought to understand how educators made sense of their roles in schools, therefore, incorporating their words into the coding process allowed for their experiences to remain intact. The initial coding of the first transcript and field notes relied heavily on emic coding in order to incorporate participant voice and beliefs. In order to maintain a reflective process in the data collection, I used these initial codes in the first set of transcripts to produce broader categories. Once I moved on to the next interview, I approached it without those initial codes in mind. I did the same for the last set of interviews. As I suspected, some codes overlapped, but I kept the codes in each state separate. Through etic coding I added more categories based on my interpretation of their narratives and the theoretical framework in this study. As etic coding is primarily based on the logic of the outside, I incorporated my interpretation through etic coding and developed a connection between the insider logic and the outsider knowledge. This served as my attempt to connect the educators' words to the theoretical framework and the research questions (Headland Pike, and Harris, 1990; Adair and Pastori, 2011).

Through emic/etic coding my data analysis categorized data in interviews into general categories, substantive, and theoretical categories. I considered the amount of data I gathered (i.e. interviews from three types of educators, across two states, in two politically different contexts) in this type of organization which allowed me to develop cohesive conclusions and a retrieval system (Maxwell, 2005). This was also beneficial as I organized ideas which could stay or be developed and which may not fit into my organizational or theoretical categories. Secondly, I used a connecting analysis to look for relationships that connected statements and events within and across contexts (Atkinson, 1992). This was particularly valuable for my study considering the two states I am incorporated. While one strategy of analysis is useful for this study, both provided a more complete understanding of my research questions and data analysis (Agar, 1991).

Validity of Findings

In order to intentionally maintain the validity in my study I incorporated respondent validation by seeking feedback from the educators I interview. This feedback prevented misinterpretation of meaning and was used as data for the study (Hammerstein & Atkinson, 1995). As part of this process I provided participants with emerging codes found during the coding process and asked them to confirm their narratives were accurately depicted. The combination of qualitative analysis and validation tools allowed me to intentionally collect and analyze the data to construct a succinct hypothesis and results. Additionally, I also participated in peer debriefing with colleagues and my dissertation chair in order to confirm that my data analysis was sound (Creswell, 2007).

Positionality

Lastly, to establish trustworthiness of findings and integrate my role as the researcher I incorporated other qualitative analysis methods such as experimental data and cultural subjectivity. Coined by Stauss (1987), experimental data allowed me to explicitly incorporate identity and experience towards the understanding and connections formed in data.

My relationship with the data centers around my experience of navigating K-12 as an undocumented student. Much of the literature on undocumented students and immigrant families fell in line with my own experience. Fear of deportation, limited access to resources, and post-traumatic stress disorder, among other things have impacted my ability to navigate school systems. As a result, educators in my life guided and empowered me throughout my schooling. These personal experiences led me to want to study the experiences of educators who specifically supported undocumented students in their schools. I understand that this was my experience eleven years ago, but it is relevant that I incorporated my personal experiences and insights in this study. Furthermore, this process provided major insights, hypothesis, and validity checks in research and were conducted extensively in qualitative studies (Grady & Wallston, 1988).

Additionally, in this process was necessary to incorporate the practice of cultural subjectivity in order to not suppress my primary experience and to avoid being overwhelmed by it. This intentional process allowed me to raise personal experiences to consciousness and use it as part of the process (Reason, 1988). There were structured strategies to intentionally do this but current research (Maxwell, 2005) has used research identity memos as a technique. This was the process of reflecting and writing down different aspects of my experience that were potentially relevant to my study in order to generate insight and connections. Ultimately, this also allowed visibility and retrievable analysis on relationships between my data and my ideas, which could also be done through displays, tables, and matrices (Miles & Huberman, 1994) These strategies, constructed into a matrix, allowed me to sort the logic of my study and further understand my work.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

The impetus of this dissertation came from the recent increase of research related to the undocumented student experience. With the blatant attacks on immigrants and the rise of undocumented immigrant rights in the past 10 years there have been continued increases in this

type of research. As stated before, the research has often focused on college undocumented students and their graduation trajectory (Abrego, 2006; Flores et al, 2009; Gonzales, 2009; Perez, 2010; Muñoz and Maldonado, 2012). However, research shows that only 5-10% of undocumented high school graduates go on to attend college. The percentage of this population shows that *Plyler v Doe*s is not meeting its promise of an equitable education to undocumented students in K-12. Recently, research has begun to confront this gap by focusing research on undocumented students in High School (Crawford and Arnold, 2016; Murillo, 2017; Park et al, 2018; Enyioha, 2019; Santellano, 2019).

However, as I explained before these types of research placed undocumented and directly-impacted bodies under the microscope of academic research. In an effort to decolonize how elitist academic entities engage with targeted and directly-impacted bodies we must push back on the notion of researching on undocumented folks. Moreover, by focusing on the narratives of undocumented students we do not engage with individuals who are privileged in the educational sphere. Educators, therefore, are an excluded player in the lives of undocumented students. Recent research has begun to take this route to center the experience of educators who work with undocumented students (Morrison et al, 2016; Wells, 2019; Walsh, 2019). While recent research has explored how educators work and support undocumented students, the literature has not yet positioned educators as a policy maker within and out of their school. This study sought to acknowledge the ways in which educators not only play a role in the life of their students but the way in which that role included interacting and creating policy in order to support undocumented students. Therefore, this study utilized the theory of Policy as Practice in an effort to communicate how educators interpret, appropriate, negotiate, and create policy. In order to fully understand the role of educators this study sought to answer the following questions:

1. What are the roles of educators in supporting undocumented students?
2. How do educators shape, interpret, and create policy to address the needs of undocumented students?
3. How do educators create networks of support considering the context of their state, city, and school?

As I first sought to answer these questions, I grounded my research in the three pilot studies I conducted in Arizona, California, and New York. These pilot studies taught me that the way in which educators supported undocumented students was heavily influenced by the context of the state in which they resided, primarily because of the policies situated in that state. Therefore, my study incorporated a comparative approach to fully understand the role of educators in supporting undocumented student based on their state. Thus, this study focused on Arizona and New York. Arizona recognized a hostile state for immigrants and the epicenter of anti-immigrant legislation in the United States forced educators to practice caution when supporting undocumented students. New York, widely recognized as an immigrant state due to its history with Ellis Island, however, it's heavily conservative upstate constituents often clashed with its more liberal city politics. Moreover, until just recently New York had not passed legislation is support of undocumented immigrant rights such as the New York Dream Act and Driver's license for all. In an effort to fully explain the interaction with legislative approaches and the role of educators **Figure 2** details how educators navigated all levels of policy, climate, and recourse and created resources for undocumented students.

The influence of the state became very clear for participants in both states, but despite the difference in state politics all educators practiced similar tactics to support undocumented students. Educators in both states identified their role of supporting undocumented as a three part process; 1. Combat "status-blind" narratives by raising awareness and communicating; 2. empower other educators understand policy and its consequences for undocumented students, and; 3. intervene and accommodate students.

Educators then interpreted policy as either excluding students, targeting students, intersecting with other policies fields, or informal or unspoken policy. While the nature of the policy varied across each state all educators engaged in the process of policy appropriation in order to adapt policies to benefit their students. Lastly, educators in both states negotiated policies

in order to create action that could protect students and give them access to resources, even when their actions placed educators in legal trouble.

Lastly, all educators participated within networks of support specifically for undocumented students. The process in which they created these networks was heavily influenced by their state context. While all educators identified allies, advocated for sustainable practices, and incorporated student voices the methods in which they engaged with this process relied heavily on state context. In Arizona educators were hesitant to self-identify as allies which meant that the creation of networks depended on discretion. On the other hand, New York educators were much more vocal about their allyship and were expected to be supportive. In both states' sustainability was advocated but in Arizona the focus was recognized and formalized, in New York sustainable advocacy was a fight that meant financial incorporation and included the Department of Education. Lastly, Arizona educators were mindful of the fear exhibited by undocumented students in Arizona and incorporated student voices meant including them in discreet ways. New York educators experienced similar fears from their students, however, undocumented students in New York participated in protests and rallies. Ultimately, we can see that educators across both states exhibited similar patterns and practices in order to advocate with and or undocumented students, however the context of the state heavily influenced how educators replicated these practices, created policy, and included undocumented voices.

All themes presented in these questions can also be identified as best practices that educators have developed in order to cultivate creative, immediate, and responsive support systems for undocumented students. However, as stated throughout the findings these best practices cannot be replicated in other states. Rather, as this study demonstrated, we must understand the context and policy of the state in order to address the specific needs and experiences of undocumented students in each state. Moreover, we also see that the context of the city and district can impact how educators are able to support undocumented students, shape policy, and create networks of support.

WHAT ARE THE ROLES OF EDUCATORS IN SUPPORTING UNDOCUMENTED STUDENTS?

While interviewing educators, it was very clear that the focus of this dissertation revolved around the roles they have played in the lives of undocumented students. This meant the role that educators themselves took on, roles that were placed on them, and roles that students needed from them. In this section of the findings I will elaborate on the ways in which educators defined their role to support undocumented students in the following themes: 1. Combating status-blind narratives; 2. Empowering themselves and others to allocate resources; 3. Intervening when necessary. Educators from both states began by interpreting that their roles in supporting undocumented students were informal. Often educators took on additional responsibilities to properly support undocumented students and advocate for their needs.

Overall, the consensus was there was no formal way to understand the role and it often meant educators were creating it as they went along. Ruth, an educator in New York described it in the following way.

> I don't think it's in anybody's job description to know, what the hell, I don't think right now there's an any one job description to know how to support an undocumented student there's so many students navigating it (Interview, April 5th).

Indeed, educators were at times identified as the support system in ad hoc ways related to ethnicity and language. For example, Gabriela an educator from Arizona described how she was identified as a support system for undocumented students. Arizona has a large undocumented Spanish speaking population, due to its proximity to the border. Therefore, Gabriela's fluency in English and Spanish identified her as a viable support system for undocumented students.

> I speak Spanish with a lot of parents who are not English-speaking, coming to me for different things like... I don't have fingerprints for my child, can you talk to my child, I need money to pay per school, can you help me? So I guess I am part of finding resources in different ways for many of the non-English speaking parents at my school parents as well and also as I think about it, also the English-speaking parents and students come to me for help some of my informal duties are really very broad I cannot specifically say that there is one (Interview, March 9).

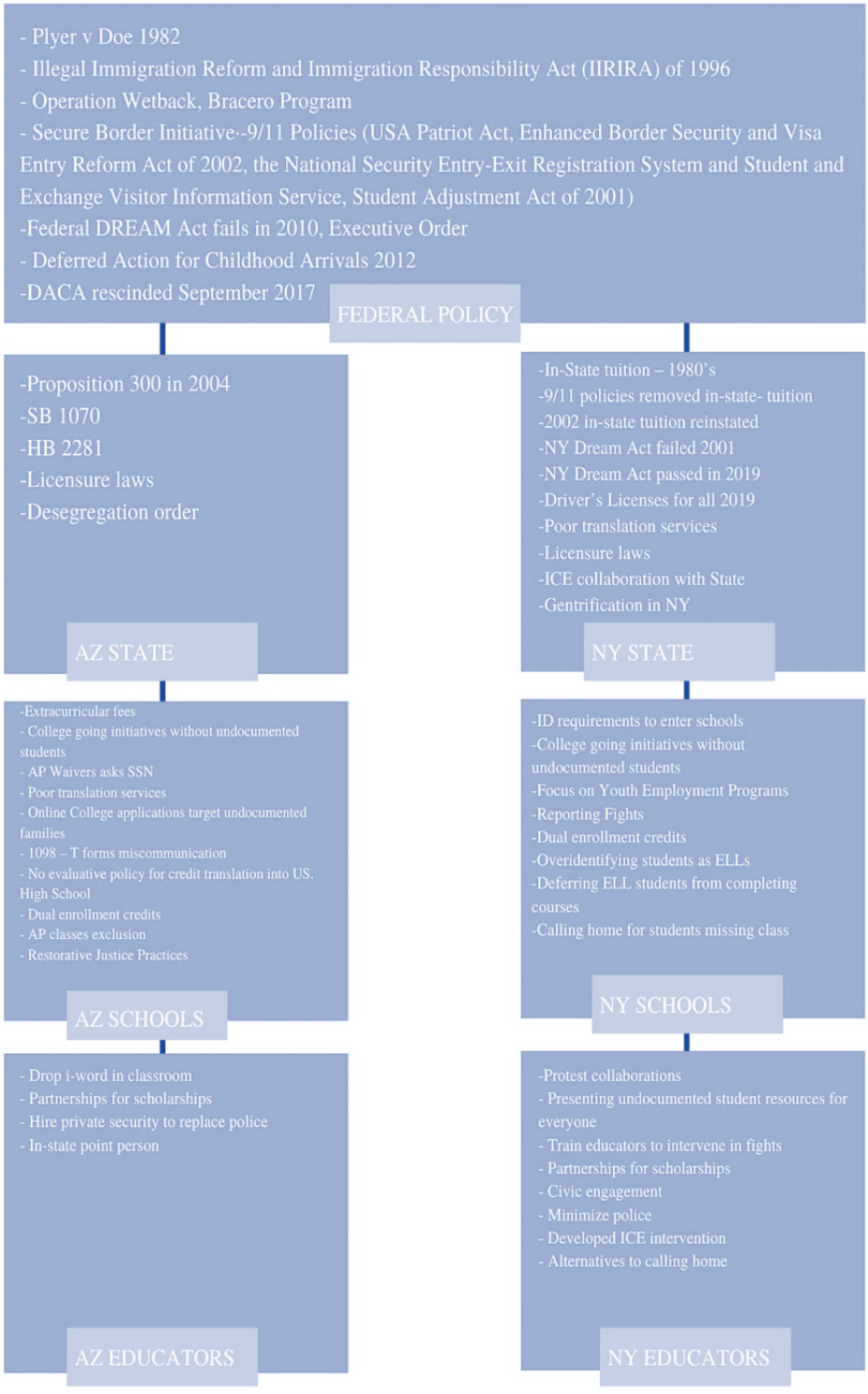


Figure 2 - Comparative Study: Policy at Each Level

Therefore, while the findings I provide below attempt to define the way in which educators define their role for undocumented students, there is no formal way to identify the role of educators or how that role interacts with undocumented students.

Theme 1: Combating Status-Blind Narratives

When asked about their role with undocumented students, educators quickly highlighted their role in understanding the impact of status in an effort to combat what I define as "status-blind" narratives. This often meant working directly with their colleagues to deconstruct the impact of status. In this study I utilize status-blind mentality, reflective of color-blind ideologies, to explain one of the roles of educators. Status-blind mentality is the idea that status should not be a factor in how educators choose to engage with students. While the premise behind both color-blindness and status-blindness is to treat everyone equally, both dismiss the very real social ramifications of status and race in the lives of students. In this study, status-blind biases presented themselves in educators and in the ways they combat them.

The educators in this study internalized status-blind notions, confronted them through increased awareness, and addressed them. Educators combatted these notions by raising awareness on their campuses in the form of trainings, professional development, or surveys. Status blind ideologies, similar to color-blind ideologies, can negatively implicate how undocumented students receive resources. By dismissing or denying the very real consequences of immigration status, educators could end up providing incorrect information. Scholars like Abrego and Gonzales (2010) have identified that undocumented students are often the victims of misinformation, something that the participants identified as linked to ignoring status. All participants expressed a sense of care for their students, especially undocumented students. They wanted to provide them with resources, guidance, and support. Often the only missing link between providing students with resources was the knowledge of what resources they needed to

receive. Therefore, while their intentions were to support undocumented students their status-blind actions denied the impact of status.

Similarly, when answering this question educators went on to explain that status is not as important as being treated equally. Robert, an educator in Arizona, explained it in the following way.

> I don't see it as a responsibility it's in my capacity same as any other student to me. Whatever the reason is that a student is in that school I don't care where the student came from or if he's in documented or undocumented as soon as he comes to our school I'm going to do everything I can to provide them with it best education possible so it's a responsibility that I have towards anybody (Interview, April 5th).

Another educator expressed similar sentiments by explaining that his role in supporting undocumented students was not any different that those who are documented.

> I don't see it as any different than helping any other student. I think it's doing your best to help in any way you can you know what I mean? It might just be teaching how to write, might be teaching them, helping them find the scholarship (Interview, April 5th).

However, in some instance's educators dismissed that question by explaining that they were not allowed to ask about status or did not care to know a student's status. For example, Robert expanded on his response by stating that it was not part of his role to know a student's status.

> I cannot tell you how many undocumented students are in school not only because I do not ask that but because I don't care. I'm going to do anything that I can to help our students in my profession (Interview, April 5th).

Therefore, while their intentions were to support undocumented students their status-blind actions denied the impact of status. In fact, these sentiments were reflected when educators avoid the question of how they support undocumented students by focusing on the fact that they cannot ask about status. In New York, Angie stated the following when asked the same question.

> That's not a question I'm allowed to ask students -- about their immigration status (Interview, June 18th).

Indeed, asking about status is not allowed in K-12 spaces, however, we are seeing this practice take on the role of double edge sword (Murillo, 2017). While educators are not allowed to ask about status, they need to know at the very least the impact of status. While this policy protects

undocumented students from being identified it also prevents educators from providing students with proper resources and advocacy. Often times this can implore educators to focus on students' academic mobility rather than other factors in their lives. Robert, a vice principal in Arizona went on to explain that his role was focused solely on education, but after joining the group of educators, he was able to identify resources educators can provide to address status.

> We control the educational part of our students' lives, but we don't control the political side I didn't know before where we could help the students find services (Interview, March 1st).

Status blind ideologies manifested themselves in schools when educators would at times ignore the ways in which status impacted the lives of their students and instead decided to support the student without understanding their status. Therefore, when I asked educators what their role was in supporting undocumented students this was often met with a resounding idea – undocumented students must be treated the same as documented students. While this could be a positive practice, ignoring status can prove to be detrimental.

For example, post-graduate opportunities are often at odds with undocumented students. College can be seen as a pathway to a higher paying job or pathway out of poverty. However, undocumented students face additional barriers that can prevent them from attending college and can make college feel unwelcomed. Therefore, it is crucial for educators to acknowledge this experience and help undocumented students navigate different opportunities. Anthony, a manager at a high school, highlighted the importance understanding the impact of status in order to provide undocumented students with alternative pathways so they can measure success on their own terms.

> Honoring the work your parents do and yeah you know helping young people feel like college is a choice they're entitled to but not something that you're less worthy if you don't choose that or things like that. I mean, yeah, that's the main thing and then you know when 13 and 14 year old's feel that way, they express it in lots of different ways you can act out or shut down doing things (Interview, May 5th).

Anthony's final point of students acting out or shutting out is an critical one. Students frustrations may manifest in different ways at different points of their schooling. Anthony went on to explain that this varied across grade levels.

> In 9th grade, it's less apparent I think than in the older grades, so I think many students are either still not aware about [their status], about themselves or have no reason to discuss that in school. I did start to learn in my first few years of teaching that this was an issue a lot of my students and not just impacting them in their lives in general which of course is in the school but also it was really a factor in how they felt about school and what they felt, like school was a big part (Interview, May 5th).

Anthony stressed the way in which schools engage or dismiss a student's experience based on status. Therefore, student may be deterred from seeking resources (Chavez et al, 2007), this can especially be true if educators ignore their status. Anthony and other educators then alluded to the ways experiences outside of school can manifest in school, such as experiences at home, like Angie, a teacher in New York explained.

> We're not supposed to ask students their legal status but it's often very challenging for educators to understand certain students might be not doing things or doing things because of everything that is going on at home and how it connects to status (Interview, May 5th).

Leo, a New York educator at another school, also connected the experience of undocumented students outside of the classroom and the influence it can have in their schooling.

> Non-citizens, they come from rough places...they may come from a refugee camp and they come from Central America but they're still street kids...they hate school just like any other child and they're still living in their parents' home. They thought they were going to come here to work and make money, but they have to go to school because of the judge's orders (Interview, July 11th).

These examples highlight how undocumented students have a different understanding of their experience in the United States, altered by the status. Students migrate expecting to work and make a living for their family; however, a court order mandates that they must attend school or risk deportation. As students attempt to navigate the education system, they are also navigating a legal system that directly conflicts with their interest and needs. As a result, we continue to see the ways in which a student's experience in education intersects with their experience and legal status.

Educators in Arizona also made similar connections to experiences outside of school and how it can impact students' academic mobility. Gabriela an educator in Arizona provides an example of a student whose father was incarcerated and whose mother was deported by Border Patrol and it is the educator's role to understand how this will impact their education.

> The student did not have an A+ in class, in the grade. She's thinking about priorities of the family. For us it's to create that space of safety that's why it's necessary it's 80% or 60% peace of mind of a child and so it's very important that we as educators support and show it. Not just what the policy says because anyone can write a policy, you can interpret the policy the way that you want, but when you really do the work and you create the space.

Indeed, understanding how status plays a role in the lives of undocumented students allowed educators to understand other aspects of their lives. These efforts to raise awareness in an effort to support undocumented students were perfectly encapsulated by Jessica, an educator in Arizona, who highlighted not only the impression it would have to educators but to undocumented students.

> By not providing the information it's also like saying undocumented students don't exist at the school, creating a kind of erasure of their experience. So, like I'm not a student that is catered to her support on this campus. So, students could feel like they're not being treated in the same regard as their peers. So, I think it can definitely affect their education and also if they feel accepted or included (Interview, April 5th).

Jessica's point also brings together how status blind notions impact undocumented students. By not taking into consideration status and the nuances that come with it, they may miss out on information or receive misinformation. Therefore, educators who have utilized awareness and visibility in order to push back on this, ultimately support students.

Again, educators identified that their role is to understand that while they should not care about status, they must acknowledge that status impacts undocumented students. Therefore, access to specific resources relies on educators understanding the ways in which status effects undocumented students' access to resources. Jessica also went on to explain it is necessary that educators know the status of students in order to allot them crucial resources.

> Assisting them as you would any other students to reach the goal, whatever those are, just as you would treat a student who has status. But when someone is undocumented it

> means helping them understand that their pathway looks really different by providing all the resources that they may need (Interview, March 10th).

It's this point further a highlights the theme across the states; educators defined their role as combating status-blind narratives.

Raising Awareness to Raise Visibility

As educators shared their tactics for combating status-blind narratives, their experiences ran the gambit between statistics, meetings, and the current federal election. While at the root of all this work were steps towards raising awareness, educators utilized these tools to teach as many colleagues as possible. However, educators were also strategic in the way in which they raised awareness. They would often connect with administrators to create a sense of validation of their information. This meant encouraging administrators to share resources on behalf of educators or encouraging staff to attend trainings. However, the likelihood of educators acknowledging the needs of undocumented students depended on the amount of knowledge educators possessed about the student population and the undocumented student population. In one school in Arizona, educators were unaware that there existed an undocumented student population. This belief led to a consensus that resources were not needed at the school. As a result, educators in the network decided to bring awareness to the number of undocumented students' folks have been working with. Jessica an educator in Arizona described her experience in advocating for more undocufriendly resources. This was met with hesitancy because higher admin did not see the value of supporting a population they believe did not existed on their campus.

> There was a hesitancy for change and also this belief that we don't have a large group of undocumented students. So, I think making sure that this is relevant was really frustrating for me...I have to bring in statistics to prove that it's true, it's really hard to provide statistics for a group of people that have been living in the shadows. We're not able to support them in the way they should so that was a challenge for sure (Interview, April 5th).

Indeed, educators described the difficulty of raising awareness when statistics for this population was particularly difficult to get. Often this required conversations to demystify the experience of undocumented students. Julia, an administrator in Arizona described her role in raising awareness

by explaining that undocumented students needed support even when they did not out themselves to educators and staff, particularly when other schools and educators want to know how many folks are residents of the state.

> We do not ask residency information it is remarkable how many times I and others are asked what percentage of our students are undocumented, we don't know we really don't know, but we also explain why we don't know. We are also simultaneously trying to inform people why we don't know (Interview, February 17th).

In New York, administrators in schools acknowledged that they were serving undocumented students, however, there was still a need to raise awareness in an effort to properly support undocumented students. Even in schools that focused on immigrant student retention it seemed that most educators were not particularly informed about their needs, barriers, and experiences. In response, Angie, an educator in New York, began to raise awareness about this population and their needs via a student-led survey.

> We created a survey to get an understanding of how much does the school know about immigration and undocumented students...and we shared with teachers across the school so they can do with their classrooms (Interview, June 18th).

The results of the survey were posted across the campus to start conversations and raise awareness about this population. While surveys were an effective way to engage the entire campus Anthony, another educator in New York described raising awareness by having meetings with his departments in order to provide information and resources for other educators.

> There's a meeting of the history teachers and math teachers in all the departments. There's similar content to all of the 9th grade teachers...we talk about students and talk about not just talking about your class but what's going on in your community coming up with interdisciplinary things, helping with trips but also doing inquiry about students and coming up with interventions struggling (Interview, May 5th).

Often Anthony's meetings included sharing his experiences with undocumented students in an effort to normalize the conversation and share resources. Angie, another educator in New York expanded on this effort by noting educators felt more comfortable having conversations to raise awareness on this issue, post 2016 election.

> I think we're starting to as a community become more open about talking or having discussions...which I think is huge because it's more closed off. Like we have a Dream

> Team club and they tend to do things but now we're starting to talk about that group. How they can view immigration as a topic in the classroom and I think that is a big step, a huge step in it of itself. Admin staff starting to understand it's not just enough for us to have a club after school (Interview, June 18th).

Angie's point highlights that part of raising awareness means raising visibility. While the afterschool club helped to raise awareness there needed to be more vocalized support in order to create a safer working space. Angie went on to describe how educators experienced the recent election and how it emboldens teachers who want to support undocumented students.

> Our last election it's kind of shifted a lot of the conversation, a lot of our teacher started to share their own personal views and politics more freely than before, so most of our teacher started sharing their own personal experiences with immigration and that brought more visibility (Interview, June 18th).

A push for visibility meant a push for the students themselves and the barriers that they faced. In New York the election served as a violent push into visibility leading educators to communicate resources and efforts. However, in Arizona it really depended on whether faculty and staff supported undocumented students in general. Gabriela describes that the network of educators in her school created a survey and provided a presentation of the results in an effort to show faculty that folks interacted with undocumented students and supported them. While most faculty supported undocumented students there were some that revealed their anti-immigrant sentiments anonymously through the survey, this pushed the administrative staff to be more supportive. For example, the survey highlighted ways in which there needed to exist more awareness and visibility. However, without administrative support this was an uphill battle. Fortunately, that changed when the administration changed at her school.

> We found out that, you know, some people were not supportive of that and so some people did not respond positively to that...we tried to fight for that and luckily for us the administration changed...it was definitely more open and very helpful. And so, I can support students more openly...after a professional development training (Interview, March 9th).

Gabriela went on to explain that after the survey other educators, who were not a part of the network, began to feel similarly about supporting undocumented students more overtly.

> They felt more comfortable coming up to me with...I think in that way it's shifted. Staff and faculty would come up to me ask me questions about the work we were doing with undocumented students. I think that was a shift. I also noticed that I would have an email sometimes from other folks saying I was talking to other students and they should share some formation with me, and I was wondering if I could refer them to you. And so, we were able to really develop ways to provide that resource for students (Interview, March 9th).

While it is necessary to understand how status can impact undocumented student's lives it is not necessary or warranted to ask students about their status. However, it is a difficult balance to maintain. Max, a teacher in New York, asserted this point in the following.

> I think schools are scary for the undocumented community, especially if you're undocumented, and especially now that people are scared. So, I don't know how...it's hard to tell what you know there's no way of tracing or measuring the effects or success (Interview, March 9th).

Other educators also described it is as a difficult balance to not ask students about their status but still be aware of how status can impact them and what resources to provide. Leo, a manager in New York leveraged his personal experience as a way to encourage parents and students to feel safe sharing their own status. Leo was formally undocumented several years ago and understands the experience of someone who is navigating school and the fears that come with it. Moreover, he provides resources and support in order to communicate to families that resources exist.

> When I first meet a family that I suspect may not be a citizen...whatever paperwork they're showing, because they have to show me whatever IDs and birth certificates and passports, then I immediately....talk about how I wasn't documented in high school and how I wish I would have been in high school like this one because of the resources they provide. I went to almost all white high school in the 90s nobody knew what documented was and also because my family was undocumented you know we didn't talk about it (Interview, July 11th).

Educators in Arizona implemented similar practices to encourage undocumented students to share their status. Jessica, unlike Leo, was not undocumented but communicated similar resources to give students a space to share their status.

> It's a normal thing because being undocumented is a very scary thing to talk about that I would go from there, I would say it's okay if you don't have a Social Security, I'm here so you can go to college and we have the resources for all students (Interview, July 11th).

While educators defined their role as addressing status-blind narratives in their colleagues, it was clear that they also experienced a shift in their own practice when practicing their role. Becky, a teacher in Arizona who only joined their educator group momentarily explained that she was not aware of many resources available for students. Similar to other educators she focused primarily on the education of students and not external impacts. After joining the educator group, she began to identify ways in which students were not receiving resources because she was not informing herself on how status can impact them. She explained how she connected the importance of knowing students' status and related resources.

> I don't, we don't ask, for citizenship status and some counselors may not be aware that they work with undocumented students for scholarship referrals and wouldn't know about a particular website or an organization with resources (Interview, February 10th).

As these examples demonstrate educators like Becky, Robert, and Angie benefited from their collaboration with other educators. They began to recognize their status-blind practices in order to educate other colleagues. Through surveys and meetings all the educators in this study highlight the need to address undocumented student needs by making the school aware of this population and making their issues more visible. Educators like Judy in New York and Jessica in Arizona also helped raise awareness by confronting status-blind biases, in an effort to help them expand their understanding of the undocumented students experience. Leo encapsulated the importance of his role in raising awareness to address status-blind notions.

> You can only be affected as an educator if you are aware of the full person that your student is and that includes, you know, if your students undocumented. Understanding what that means for them, understanding that it's not the same thing for every student…It's not stereotyping them and putting them into a box just because you know that they are undocumented (Interview, July 11th).

As more educators realized that there were undocumented students on campus and the ways in which status impacted their lives, more were on board to support undocumented students. As raising awareness created opportunities for ally ship, educators began to identify their role as empowering their colleagues to allocate more resources.

Analysis

Throughout this section educators explained the ways in which status-blind practices leave undocumented students feeling vulnerable and misinformed. Whether it's because educators did not want to know about status or they believed it was not important, the legal experience of undocumented students continued to impact their lives. Educational leaders therefore defined part of their role as combating status-blind mentality. As I explained status-blind mentality derived from color-blind mentality. Ray and Purifoy (2019) expand on the ways in which organizations reinforce racial inequality when they maintain color blind practices. Similarly, status-blind practices are reinforced within institutions and among educators. Sheet (2017) explained the importance of educational leaders and their work in shifting organizational practices to transform indifference about undocumented students. While Sheet's study took place in higher education, this section highlights the ways in which K-12 educators have shifted practices in an effort to support undocumented students. The educators in this study described utilizing surveys, trainings and other tools to combat status-blind mentality and ultimately support students. In expanding educator knowledge and raising awareness, educators were able to create visibility for undocumented student needs , they were also able to empower educators to seek resources.

Theme 2: Empowering Educators to Seek Resources

When identifying their roles, educators highlighted the importance of empowering their colleagues. As educators were often provided with little training on this topic, this often meant that they needed to empower themselves and then empower others. Participants identified that they empowered educators through team building, professional development, and conversations. These educators were then empowered enough to confront others, seek resources, share opportunities, and create trust for their students. This became particularly vital in order to connect students with as many resources as possible.

However, educators often described this process as time consuming and impeding of their other responsibilities. It was with this in mind that educators noted the importance of empowering their colleagues to do the same and share their workload by educating themselves or seeking resources for this particular group. Despite the varied political contexts, educators across New York and Arizona noted that when educators empowered themselves to seek resources undocumented students would feel more comfortable outing themselves and seeking resources and opportunities. As previous studies have noted established trust in a necessary step for educators working with undocumented students (Malagon, 2006).

Educators' experience receiving little to no training on undocumented students motivated their self-empowerment. A lack of formal training impacted educators' confidence to make decisions or give advice because they lacked the knowledge needed to provide support. Kelly pointed out that her feelings of discomfort came from feeling unprepared by her master's program. At the start of her career she began to connect with students and as she developed a sense of trust with them, they began to share with her their status. However, she received no preparation, no literature, and no training on this group of students and their needs. Kelly reiterated the importance of including these aspects in her teacher training program.

> I think in some respects, at the Collegiate level, they should be saying things within a teacher preparation that talks about these issues and helps you prepare for them... I think it's critical. That I don't work to get those kinds of things included in the training process. And helping to educate us so that we're better prepared. So, when they ask us to first meet with them, to sit down and help, students who may be undocumented, we can say not only are you in a safe space, but we are educated for your educated on this issue (Interview, March 17th).

Kelly's frustrations came from a place of care and empathy for her students. She mentioned that her school counseling program provided her with socio-emotional support for so many other topics accept this one.

> As a first-year school counselor, the school counseling program prepared you in-depth for social emotional counseling, but they don't do much to prepare you for post High School transitions, so school counselors have to learn on their own (Interview, March 17th).

Kelly described that her path towards empowerment was forced on her when her training program did not provide her with the proper tools. This became particularly apparent when a student approached her about college. Kelly described what became all the more jarring was that she was not trained on this in the state of Arizona, a state that has the 4th largest undocumented population and a state which borders Mexico.

> The school counseling program that I graduated from never discussed those type of issues and I graduated from a program here in Arizona. That to me that was really unexpected the fact that we and I'm sure it's just as bad in other places, but the amount of undocumented student here, here in Arizona. We are in a position to be upfront, preparing me for is part of that (Interview, March 17th).

Kelly's point was well heard in this study. Arizona is a state that could be a leader in undocumented student support, but she found that her programs had not helped to inform her or her school districts. However, just because Arizona borders Mexico it should be the only state prepared to support undocumented students. Florida, New York, and New Jersey are other states that do not meet the Mexican border and have some of the largest undocumented populations. Indeed New York educators felt very similarly about the lack of teacher preparation for educators working with undocumented students. Anthony a teacher in New York explained that he was not trained to fully support undocumented students, and educators today are still not being prepared.

> So, in that part of my career I thought, and we've found is still true, is that teachers were the ones who supported kids with those kinds of conversations and even though we weren't trained to do that at all, but I just couldn't really think of another way (Interview, March 21st).

Anthony maked another important point that it has to be educators that are trained on this topic because they are often the ones who are in direct contact with students and their families. As education programs failed educators in their preparation to support undocumented students, it often took empowered educators to train their colleagues.

Judy, a teacher in New York highlighted the importance of educators being ready for any moment in which students may share their status. Throughout their interviews many educators described moments in which students shared their status with them. It was often in moments of

crisis or when they needed immediate support. Rarely was it when students were prepared to talk about it or when there was still plenty of time to address their concerns.

> I have students who are undocumented, and their status usually comes up through individual conversations where they disclose their status to me for whatever reason will be talking about jobs will be talking about college will be talking about paying for something or some crisis, they're going through something that's happening to a family member (Interview, March 2nd).

It was particularly important for new educators to be involved and informed about undocumented student's experiences. This was in part because they were not prepared by their programs to address these concerns. However, educators also noted that when they first began their work students were not quick to trust them because they were new. Many of the newer educators shared that it took time for students to reach out to them for support even when they needed immediate resources. Angie, a teacher in New York, worked with an educator who was well versed and prepared to work with undocumented students. She sought out her support for this reason, however Angie began to notice that students were not ready to trust because they identified that she was not well informed.

> I found that most of the students that were in the club had been here for at least a year if not more, and they were definitely more open to speaking with her and sharing their personal narratives which I had to work towards gaining their trust a little bit. I don't think I knew them enough, so it was a little bit of a challenge connecting with them talking with them but once we got past that we were able to develop relationships (Interview, June 18th).

Angie knew the importance of empowering herself to develop knowledge and relationships with students in order to fully provide them with support.

Self-Empowerment & Empowering Others

As educators expanded on their role by illustrating how they first empowered themselves to seek resources and advocate for students. When asked about their roles and the ways in which they empowered themselves to seek resources, many educators referred to moments when they first began working with undocumented students. Kelly, a teacher in Arizona remembered when she was confronted by a student trying to understand his status and how it impacted his education. This student meeting was the first time a student had outed themselves as undocumented to her.

She recounts the event as the moment when she began to acknowledge a gap in her knowledge and when she decided she needed to be informed about this experience.

> He came to me for help and I wasn't prepared to help him and that's what pushed me into going to meetings to get training and to learn how that can help (Interview, March 17th).

However, Kelly also acknowledged that her schooling and her training had not prepared her for this, and it may require more than just additional educational experience but a real support system.

> I had all the job training from my school. But given some of the issues that we deal with on a regular basis, to help prepare you versus not helping me until I'm confronted with the first student and not knowing how to help them. I felt it was a disservice to that student who had many points of contact prior to me (Interview, March 17th).

Kelly's experience with a student forced her to confront her lack of knowledge and acknowledge her role as an educator that needed to serve all of her students. Therefore, she empowered herself to seek out spaces that were informed and educators that could support her. Kelly's process reflects how organizational actors generate new norms within schools in an effort to define responsibility and action (Bernhardt et al, 2016). It was often with other educators that the participants began to feel empowered to not only provide support but seek other information. Robert, a vice principal in Arizona described a similar experience of not fleeing trained or prepared to support undocumented students, however after joining a group of educators he began to understand his role and the answers he could provide.

> We didn't know, before this group, what was recommend we know now that if our students, that we can we cannot give legal advice…we have a group that has allowed us to find resources that we can get to their families if we have questions we can refer them to where they can answer those questions…we did not feel comfortable before (Interview, March 1st).

Robert explained that before working with other educators he did not feel empowered to shar resources and information because he did not feel informed. Other educators expressed similar sentiments showcasing that other educators helped to empower them to share resources and information to undocumented students, even if that meant simply reassuring students. In the

example provided above by Kelly, she reflected that her role became to reassure students when they needed resources that she was not prepared to provide.

> So, she came to me, but I didn't really know how it worked. I just knew that she should be able to get it and so then because of that network of people I had gotten to know and I was able to reach out but it was one of those things where I have to work with her in the process because she got very nervous and I said, well look I know you're entitled but we need to figure out exactly how (Interview, March 17th).

Methods towards Empowering Others

As educators explained their developed sense of empowerment, they explained how their lens shifted to also encourage other educators to empower themselves in an effort to support students. Kelly, the teacher in Arizona described the benefit of attending trainings that informed her teaching. She explained to her colleagues why this was crucial for their students.

> I have been trying to encourage other counselors to participate, become educated, get involved with those processes through organizations (Interview, March 17th).

In other schools' educators shared that they were able to organize larger training sessions for a variety of educators across the city. Judy a New York teacher explained the training she put on for her school.

> My second year teaching at the school we did a professional development session for teachers on supporting undocumented youth and both myself and my other current facilitator of the dream team at the time (Interview, March 2nd).

Educators in Arizona also vocalized the importance of these trainings to higher admin. Julia, a higher up admin in Arizona shared that she would often prioritize trainings for educators on this topic in an effort to prepare them for the work they will face. In particular Julia made a point of highlighting that these trainings would benefit students in different places, whether undocumented or simply non-resident. She would often leverage her role in order to strongly encourage educators to attend.

> I'm trying to make sure that are school counselors and other individuals were interested or able to participate in professional learning regarding the needs of non-resident students across the board and that might be immigrant students from many, many different places as well as are DACA and a documented students so professional learning is very important \. (Interview, February 17th).

While Julia highlighted the breath of experiences educators need to be familiar with, educators highlighted the importance of empowering others through collaboration in order to share the load of these cases.

Similarly, educators in New York also involved their administrative staff to create opportunities of empowerment. Ruth, a teacher in New York, described how her principal helped to organize a training for educators across the city in order to better inform them about supporting undocumented students.

> All these principles, my principal got her principal friends together, it was really beautiful… and we presented our workshop and we did a workshop all about organizing dream teams and the history and the relationship between the two groups, ways to support students in schools, and that was like a one and a half hour to two hour workshop that maybe 30 or so teachers, educators, principals, counselors came to ours (Interview, April 5th).

Empowerment through educator teams and collaboration allowed staff to reach out to other educators at multiple levels. Gabriela, an office manager in Arizona worked primarily with undocumented students before a new colleague arrived at her campus. She noticed she wanted to support undocumented students as well and reached out to her to provide additional information and support.

> I asked how can I help you. I think she also identified the needs of undocumented students and their families. And so, I went to I talk about how we try to help them still "under the water" you know because our administration still did not support them at all (Interview, March 9th).

Similar practices included new educators in New York. Leo explained that it was meaningful to get the new staff acquainted with the support systems they created for undocumented students.

> We do Professional Development for them. We always have an immigration section where we would try to keep them up to date, the new teachers that may not be very aware of how things go down in real life, what kind of things our families are going to encounter (Interview, July 11th).

Kelly described her experience with the group of educators and the trainings she attended to supplement her knowledge. While the group did not conduct the trainings, they connected her to the right resources. Kelly attended educator trainings that focused on undocumented student

resources and support. She explained the importance of attending trainings even when they were hosted far away from the campus and her home. These trainings often led her to attend others hosted across the city and help schools connect with one another.

> I would go to training sessions that they gave the school counselors and schoolteachers. So, they had organized training and information sessions that they provided at various locations...I remember one which I attended was hosted at a church on the other side of town and I know they kind of went and had it at a hotel. We've put on different things in the schools and then the organization...was trying to help the high schools to get them to talk to each other (Interview, March 17th).

The multitude of resources Kelly was able to connect to through trainings made her feel a sense of empowerment. Much like Robert this empowerment allowed her to be more self-assured about the advice and support she could provide students because she had the information available. Kelly continued by explaining how this ultimately supported her students.

> Not only was it empowering for me, it was all so empowering because I had that information for students who may or may not have known that those faces, and places and people are there to support them in a community of students you know who can share that information such a risk (Interview, March 17th).

Leo, a manager in a high school in New York is considered the point person for immigrant and undocumented students. He pointed out that he often sat down with educators and provided them with step by step guidance on what they needed to know in order to fully support their students. Leo talked about educators that would approach him at the end of the day to ask about their student's and what they were experiencing.

> She came up to me at the end of the day and said "do you have any support for him" I said yeah...and I'm like okay well let's sit down and talk about that. I broke it down bit by bit, anyways this happens a lot you'd be surprised how little people know (Interview, July 11th).

Leo's experience was that his school was more immigrant-friendly than most. His school specialized in transitioning recently-arrived students. Educators apply to this school with those practices in mind. However, they very much relied on him for additional resources.

> Everybody has an extra ear towards this topic and the teachers, of course. A lot of the times they are the first responders the ones that hear it, that see it….if they can consult themselves they will do it if you need some legal help or a referral they tell them to lean

> on me but yeah in our school luckily it's a very particular school that's why I'm here the staff is pretty woke (Interview, July 11th).

However, Leo explained that it was important to continue to empower other educators in order to support capacity building. He not only managed recent arrivals but connects students with lawyers, deportation defense, and advocates for them on campus. He described feeling overwhelmed by the amount of informal responsibilities he has had to take on. As a result, he highlighted the importance of empowering educators to seek resources in order to share responsibilities among staff, ultimately lessening his informal workload.

> In theory I spent more time trying to link a family with a referral. So, more and more I'm trying to empower teachers to do it themselves and some do… but they are exceptional in this case (Interview, July 11th).

Leo mobilized and empowered educators in his school to take on responsibilities and inform their work. It was necessary for Leo and other educators that colleagues were prepared to connect undocumented students to trustworthy resources and opportunities.

Educators in both states have described their journey towards feeling empowered to support and inform themselves on undocumented students experiences. Whether it was a sense of discomfort or hesitancy educators found solace in working with other educators to seek out resources. These same educators have also encouraged their colleagues to empower themselves in order to meet the expectations of their profession.

Empowered Outcomes

Educators who interacted with similar experiences of empowerment alluded to having the confidence to search for answers and reaffirm students that they would look for the resources. Max, a teacher in New York explained that he would often be the point person in his school for undocumented student issues. In instances where he was not sure about how to support student so he would be transparent with the student and confirm with them the resources they will need to look for. It was through some of these queries that Max thought to form of an all undocumented student advisory group.

> I get all the undocumented students I know of, which I knew most of the students because I've seen them before Year's End I think that's how it must have happened I don't know how that happened or I remember how that happened I don't remember I'm sure I got to fight for it I don't know if we're fighting for it but they allowed me to create my own advisory (Interview, May 5th).

In Max's school students were divided into advisory groups during a period of school. In an effort to inform students and connect them with resources Max asked if he could create an all undocumented students' advisory group.

As educators shared their newly formed sense of empowerment, they echoed the importance of actively vocalizing support for undocumented students in an effort to develop resources. Kelly spoke on this issue as it related to a military requirement that would have placed undocumented students in danger of deportation. The Higher ups in her school wanted to increase their school grade and attempted to do so by making the military aptitude test a graduation requirement. Kelly, the only veteran in her school and the point person working with undocumented students, noted that this would be a problem. She explained that undocumented students should not take that test as it may lead to deportation for some students. She recognized that it was an attempt to help all students but pointed out they were not knowledgeable about the military test nor their student population. She spoke up at this meeting and pushed back on its implementation. Kelly highlighted this action as an important role of being an educator.

> Educators specifically that want to help support students they need to verbalize and vocalize and be an advocate for the students they need to say that something needs to be done in the school so like the military tell situation they need to speak up they need to talk about why these things need to be looked at more deeply and they have to help put students what because of other people while they're still ignorant or through for decision-making make bad decisions they have to advocate and help to create those places that would allow students to be successful (Interview, March 17th).

Kelly was empowered enough to recognized that she needed to speak up about this initiative, otherwise undocumented students could be outed and put in danger. Kelly ended her statement by also noting that she sought support in her effort to push back.

> I reached out to other people and just kind of kept pushing that we can't do that not the way that they had originally envisioned it anyway (Interview, March 17th).

In addition to speaking out and seeking support educators also explained the importance of keeping themselves informed and up to date on what undocumented students navigate, even as simple as reading articles or news clippings. Leo in New York explained that his greatest sense of empowerment came from keeping himself informed on this experience.

> I read everything everything all the articles major news media to little media has to all the organizational emails that's why I around some very well up to date which I'm still part of I'm still pass on these actions (Interview, July 11th).

It was Leo's point of passing on these actions that allowed him to connect other educators with the same information that empowered his own thought process. Leo shared that it was also important for educators to be informed about scholarships the school cultivated and how undocumented students could benefit from them.

> We try and train our staff, you know, some institutional things that are happening that are positive we have an international dreamer scholarship funds created by teachers and community members friends of our school...raised $40,000 and it's a life fund we put more money into it and...it's the criteria too it's not just academics a little wider educators also made sure to keep everyone informed in the classroom and in their schools (Interview, July 11th).

Informing individual classrooms about resources was a goal that was echoed across these two states. Kelly in Arizona also explained the importance of providing information to individual classrooms in order to make sure folks were engaged on resources and best practices.

> I changed the way that I was going to classrooms I would conscientiously say "well look if you happen to be a DACA student or undocumented student you can come talk to me I want to help" and I started making up a statement or sometimes I'll say "if you need or you know someone who needs support or someone to talk to (Interview, March 17th)."

Kelly felt that vocalizing these kinds of messages in the classroom also implicitly trained educators on how to communicate with undocumented students in their classrooms. Kelly connected her sense of empowerment with the expectations of her job – informing and providing resources for undocumented students. She encouraged so many of her colleagues that it caught the attention of her administrators they read her enthusiasm as a ask for more resources and began to connect her with more spaces.

> The supervisor who oversaw the school counselors was so happy that I have brought up these issues and how I shared that information out. He sent me to a dinner where they raise money for scholarships for undocumented students so I can learn more (Interview, March 17th).

This opportunity provided Kelly with more contacts and resources. Other educators like Kelly, emphasized the empowerment could also look like communicating trust to students because trusting someone with this information could involve family input and concerns.

> I think that it's a whole another level because they have to feel a whole new level of trust exists because, it could also be that their families put other pressures on them. About you're not allowed to talk about this and so while the students feel comfortable sharing other very personal things with me sharing their status is more than just hurting them it's another level of trust above and beyond it (Interview, March 17th).

In this experience Kelly explained that the student began to trust her with her status. However, that also meant that the student needed to trust other educators with her status. Kelly did not have all the resources and so needed to reach out to others for support.

> We had to do it together because she trusted me, but she was very nervous about it and then she realized that this network does exist and that I would connect her with them (Interview, March 17th).

Ultimately the network of educators provided a lot of support for her students and connected her to student advocacy networks and support. Trust played a crucial role in the student getting access to resources she was looking for. In some instances, a network of empowered educators also provided students with a space to disengage from their status, allowing the educator to manage some of those stressors. Ruth, an educator in New York, shared that student placed trust in them to guide and navigate their status. Even when student groups existed student expressed that they appreciated the space but did not want to engage with their status and instead connected with educators who they could trust particularly educators who were informed on this topic.

> She never joined the Dream Team she would have come to all of the Dream Team meetings and she shared her status with me she said that just knowing that that space was there just made her feel more empowered and helped her get ready when she got to the year. When she talked about status, she said that she didn’t want to deal with thinking about status in the group (Interview, April 5th).

The collaboration of educators became even more crucial because sometimes student led groups meant that students would continue to bear additional weight of responsibility connected to their status. While the educator network in New York are very necessary for a campus and needed for students to empower themselves, educators must take on the responsibilities of taking on a student's status and allow students to rest.

Empowered educators who conducted similar work expressed that it often led to massive conversations at the city level to advocate for more resources for undocumented students. Judy, a teacher in New York explained that she worked with a city wide group of educators to advocate for the New York Dream Act and the ICE out of Schools initiative.

> I think so, the New York DREAM Act we've supported obviously but the policy on keeping ice out of school's ...was something we pushed for along with other groups (Interview, March 2nd).

Moreover, Judy talks about the formation of Dream Teams in schools as something that expanded city wide with the help of educators that felt empowered to advocate for their students.

> Our group has helped formed more dream teams and are high schools dream teams since it started as a college thing and as they have expanded you know to my knowledge at least like when I started ...there were few in the city like maybe three or four I don't I'm saying this up the top of my head so I could be completely wrong but now I know of dream teams in 10 to 15 + schools high schools across the city (Interview, March 2nd).

Dream Teams were an initiative similar to Max's advisory group. They are often a group of undocumented students who want to bring awareness to their campus or advocate for resources. While Max created opportunities for students to connect with each other and himself, Judy's example expands across the city to form and connect these groups in over 15 different high schools. As Judy and other have stressed, they often collaborated with community based organizations to create and expand these resources to students.

Educators in Arizona also utilized their sense of empowerment to expand their reach across the city. Julia, the higher admin in Arizona explained that colleges began contacting high school students enrolled in college credit programs that they needed to submit tax information

including social security numbers and proof of residency. For undocumented students across the city who enrolled in these programs, Julia worried that it may deter them from continuing their education. She sent the point of contact an email pushing that they communicate more consistently with her office before they sent out information that can impact their students.

> They sent it to all of our students without notifying us, so my initial was an email is this "we are willing to mitigate concerns our families might have acknowledging that, like you, we are not providing tax advice but I don't know if there's a way that we should have got him prior notice or practices of this before this occurred as I believe we could have been more proactive if we knew in advance (Interview, February 17th)."

Analysis

In moving onto this theme, educators focused on the role of empowerment, and their role in empowering other educators. As educators continued to learn about the experience of undocumented students the limited information and training they received impacted their perceptions and confidence to provide support. However, educators who felt empowered would often create opportunities to empower others. These practices resulted in shifts within the school but also conversation at the city and national level.

Theme 3: Intervening to Accommodate

Lastly, educators identified part of their role as intervening in order to accommodate undocumented student needs. Educators identified this as a role partially because they understood the consequences of actions taken by the school or other institutional entities. Additionally, as explained above educators were often the only ones who were familiar with these consequences and therefore were the only ones to act. As we mentioned above it was necessary for educators to self-identify as allies and work to cultivate trust between them and undocumented students.

As educators continued to identify their roles in supporting undocumented students there was a clear pattern: Educators who were empowered to be aware about these issues and provide resources for undocumented students, often understood the consequences of not intervening and therefore took action. In the year in which I conducted data collection for this study Arizona has removed in-state tuition for DACA students. However, now it has reinstated it for all

undocumented students. Additionally, New York has just recently passed the New York State Dream Act allowing undocumented students to qualify for Tuition Assistance Program, a state-based financial aid program and has given undocumented immigrants access to drivers' licenses. As policies constantly shifte, there is no simple method to support undocumented students in schools as Kelly an educator in Arizona noted.

> It can make the process much more difficult because of the fact that there's not a clean easy method, you're constantly having to be okay with what schools do, maybe New Mexico State schools were more open so it's a constant check -- has our rules changed, our political system changed, I'm trying to figure out the network of schools that are still open to enrollment for undocumented students (Interview, March 17th).

Throughout this study educators connected consequences to their role in intervening and accommodating students as they navigate education and beyond. Kelly, a teacher in Arizona, noted that even before educators have an opportunity to self-identify as ally's student may already assume that they are not supportive, partially out of fear and partially because they have experienced it before.

> It's kind of like a shifting moving entity, I had students that said it doesn't really matter how welcoming how open...there is some level of fear that they may or may not be able to overcome and I know for many cases that I have helped there's a student that hasn't been helped that probably didn't reach out because they didn't feel safe and they maybe they felt hopeless maybe they just there's just not enough trust level (Interview, March 17th).

Kelly highlighted the consequence of educators not empowering themselves and intervening in order to prove to students that they are trustworthy, an crucial factor in students revealing their status and receiving resources.

While one on one problems can impact students' lives, city based problems and misinformation can impact access to resources for undocumented students at the district level. Julia also provided another example of the consequences of individuals and institutions not empowered to inform themselves on the experiences of undocumented students.

> Some data from a senior survey, that was done for a very different purpose, had nothing to do with this, it had to do with barriers to college and a lot of our senior class, 18%, record that they were not born in the United States because 50% of them reported that their parents were not even born in the U.S. if not properly explained the college will

> hold onto that and think was 50% were not born in the United States and therefore may or may not have residency. So there's no there's no such thing to be made there, but we also know that the discrepancy perhaps between parents were not born in the United States and students were born here is that they all have residency so it was very easy for people who are unfamiliar with the system to make judgements based off both false information or perceptions (Interview, February 17th).

This realization encouraged Julia to intervene and clarify the meaning of residency for undocumented students and students whose parents are undocumented. While educators have been able to identify ways in which to intervene it is often a process of being constantly informed and up to date about politics legislation and resources.

Consequences

Intervention and information became particularly vital in the role of educators because of the real-life consequences this would have. While students are fearful regardless of what state they are in, educators in Arizona highlighted the fear the families and students experience on a daily basis.

> I had a lot of people at the school going back to Mexico going back to where they came from because they were afraid of the police. In a particular case it was not the student that did not have status, it was a mom that had no status so she just said so you know I can't take a chance I'm going to have to leave (Interview, March 9th).

New York educators also identified an impact with drop in numbers and attendance from their student body due to fear of government institutions. Angie, a teacher in New York described the school's reaction when they realized that enrollment numbers dropped.

> There was a serious drop in our numbers and that just kind of was our push to address it. The number of students that come in with their families changed. So, there were a variety of reasons, but fear was definitely a part of it where so many of our students are impacted (Interview, June 18th).

Angie's school recognized that the consequences of fear meant that students would be out of school and not provided with the opportunity to engage in an education. Arizona educators also noticed and documented a drop beyond high school and into college opportunities. In Arizona high school students had the opportunity to take college level credits, however, enrollment numbers for immigrant and undocumented students began to decrease. Julia, an administrator

noted the change in enrollment. This was true even for DACA students who, in Arizona had the opportunity to attend college with in-state tuition.

> Since the election of 2016 the number of students we have who have actually been able to complete the program has dropped almost completely, it's no surprise (Interview, February 17th).

Julia described additional consequences could also mean that students would work towards a specific degree and field only to find out they would be unable to pursue that career because of their status. Essentially, educators who did not engage with student's status would ultimately end up encouraging students to spend time and money pursuing a specific degree that they will be unable to utilize.

> I had a student whose father was detained, actually he has been deported now, he was detained about a year-and-a-half ago the student is working at a very high demand field in Arizona he has earned all sorts of Industry certifications and will be completely unemployable when he graduates from US (Interview, February 17th).

Julia described that as students are processing deportation and overcoming other barriers, incorrect or misinformed support can exacerbate student experiences. Misinformation without intervening can also present institutional problems.

Individual Interventions

Action, or intervening in this case, looked like a multitude of different things, but it often came with the knowledge and experience of what the immigrant experience entailed. Educators often practiced this at different levels and in different institutions. The most common was individual on-on-one actions. For example, Becky, a teacher in Arizona, brought up an example of a student whose father was detained by border patrol and he was currently trying to raise enough money for his bond. Becky found out this information when the student began missing class and his grades declined. She reached out to the student and he shared his situation. Becky provided him with accommodations because of his situation.

> I let him know that he could make up whatever work he was missing and that I would be there for him if he needed to talk no matter what he needed to talk about but I think he had a lot of pride and he was a very nice young man...but you know I think he just ended up like I said having to work (Interview, February 10th).

Ultimately, the student prioritized the immediate needs of his family and the accommodation was not adequate. Other educators intervened with a more hands-on approach. For example, Gabriela an office manager in Arizona, began working with undocumented students in a student group and began to notice that few were in AP classes or if they were English Language Learners, they were not being processed out of ELL classes and into English classes. She identified that students were being tracked and kept in ELL classes without an initiative to process them out. She decided to intervene and make sure students were processed out of these classes.

> I saw his transcript I said I give you a year and I want to see you in regular classes in a year. This child was in a regular class, it was American government and so I saw him studying and he passed and he passed really well and he was going great so that's the reason why I say yes because he put them in a box or they don't challenge them as they will challenge you of your different race or different status so that's what I mean when I say that I'm there to motivate my students so they don't conform (Interview, March 9th).

Gabriela intervened and advocated for the student to enter classes that would allow him to progress academically. Moreover, Gabriela also intervened when situations outside of school impacted students.

> Unfortunately there was a student was a senior, she told me that she was going to withdraw...it was November and she said she has to withdraw and I said, "where are you going?" and she said "I'm going back to Mexico," and she's a senior she only has a few months to finish and six months for next semester so she said she has to leave because of her status you know I said how about let's talk to the counselor and see if you can wait until December maybe she doesn't have to take many classes to finish that semester, can we talk to the counselor and in fact she was able to graduate in December so when she left she took her high school diploma. So, it was a lot of work and a little work for her, but it worked (Interview, March 9th).

It was clear from Gabriela's example that she intervened in several different capacities in order to get the student her high school diploma before she self-deported. She reached out to the student, connected with the counselor, and confirmed early graduation. While she could not prevent her from self-deportation, she was able to respect that family's decision and still provide her with an education that could ultimately support her in some capacity. More importantly, Gabriela noted that she was able to intervene without placing any additional work or responsibility on her student who was already processing and coping with a new transition.

Educators in New York also faced similar situations in which they intervened in an effort to help students avoid life changing consequences. Anthony, a teacher in New York explained a situation in which a student who was in the process of applying for asylum began cutting class.

> We also had a student that was cutting a lot and he was living with his aunt, that's part of his placement applying for Asylum to resume for unaccompanied minors. And so, there's the question of what to do in terms of normal school procedures, when the student's in that precarious position. It's like certainly with trauma, we don't want to just allow them to disengage with school but like coming home and telling an aunt who is like getting increasingly frustrated with him does not help. It's not something that was helpful, so I think having those kind of situations are a lot of what we are interested in restorative justice (Interview, March 21st).

In this situation the typical protocol is to call the home. Anthony identified that in this case that would only make the situation worse. The student and his aunt were navigating the asylum court system and learning to live with each other. Instead he chose not to take that route and focus on restorative justice practices. Anthony finished this example by making an important point.

> Actually, like a couple of students told me and my colleagues where he hangs out and we just went to find him and got him to come back so that's that. I'm pretty sure we wouldn't have gone to all that effort if we weren't aware of what was happening with him and the stakes involved in his situation (Interview, March 21st).

Anthony noted that he was aware of the process of asylum and ways in which this student would be impacted if the school called home. Anthony understood what the family and the student were currently processing and ways in which protocol would hurt the family more than help. He acknowledged that he was only able to make that decision because he knew the process, other teachers may not have done the same.

Administrative Intervention

Educator's whose work was more student-facing, were able to provide direct support for students. However, because they report to supervisors, they had restrictions in place of how they can and cannot intervene. Educators therefore identified that admin advocacy was imperative in order to properly serve undocumented students. These practices started as early on as the hiring practices of the school. Max a teacher in New York explained that he was one of the founding teachers of the high school he works in. The high school primarily serves immigrant student and

is situated in an immigrant community. Max explained that the reason he is connected to this work and why other educators in his school feel the same way is because the principal was intentional in hiring individuals who were dedicated and proactive about supporting and working with immigrant youth. Max described that when the school opened, and they began working more directly with immigrant students it was clear to him why all the staff was chosen for this work.

> The beginning weeks were crazy so going through that process and building that now I think you know what I said, the principal was looking for youth and energy and dedication and intelligence (Interview, May 5th).

The principal understood the importance of hiring a staff that was knowledgeable about working with the community it served. Higher admin staff in Arizona also identified the importance of cultivating that kind of dedication and intelligence in their staff. Gabriela described that her new principal understood the importance of the work she did with undocumented students and excuse her from some responsibilities.

> My administrator is a very very supportive, so one day he comes, and we have to do a professional development meeting and I say okay I'm going to go to the DACA group I'll see you later and they're very supportive (Interview, March 9th).

Gabriela's administrator recognized that she needed to work with this group and therefore allowed her to miss professional development meetings. Providing leeway for educators to allow them to identify and address the needs of students. In other cases, educators have included their colleagues to participate in public support for undocumented students. With administrative support Ruth, from New York, worked with students to create a project in which educators self-identified as allies.

> I'll talk about the great project we did last year and if we want to do it again. So the students made posters of "no borders no walls," "no papers no problem," and "no human being is illegal" instead of hanging them up they had students and staff place holes in the poster take a picture of the peers all those photos and then hang the photos of people holding them all around the school we used to go to protest the kids feel unwanted (Interview, April 5th).

This action allowed educators to engage with student led efforts that also included administrative support ultimately communicating administrative support throughout the campus. The

administration displayed advocacy for educators who were trying to support their students in an academic setting. Moreover, some educators also experienced administrative support when they ventured into a political field. Judy a teacher in New York whose undocumented student group wanted to participate in a letter writing campaign to address their concerns.

> School leadership has been pretty supportive about our work with the letter writing campaign. That was also a process so that I had to go through the Department of Education legal team because it was like part of advocacy and I had to be pretty careful with those students who are doing it because they chose to, not because as a teacher it's something I was telling them to do, because legally if it had been interpreted that way I could have been in a pretty bad position (Interview, March 2nd).

Navigating the Department of Education's legal team was something Judy acknowledged required administrative backing. If they were not absolutely supportive of Judy and her work, it would have stopped the work of the students. Administration also showed advocacy by including educators in the process of educating and sharing resources in formalized meetings. Max mentioned that his administrative staff showed support by asking him to provide information at PTA meetings in an effort to communicate to parents and teachers that working and supporting undocumented students was a priority of the school.

> PTA meetings happen all the time that I think principal asked if I could put together something for the parents and students who were undocumented (Interview, May 5th).

Administrative support secured that they would be able to continue supporting students while not impacted their job or position in the school. Max in New York experienced a similar moment in which his supervisor allowed him to shift the structure of student learning communities in favor of undocumented students. Max's school has small learning community for each student. These communities provide students with a space to talk about college and post-graduate plans. Max identified that undocumented students need additional support in order to fully participate and receive relevant resources. As a result, Max asked to make his own community with only undocumented students. Despite this being a new concept in the school and it ultimately

impacting other educators who had to take on additional students, Max received the necessary support to implement this plan.

> I feel supported by the school I do feel supported by my school it's I wasn't feeling supported in terms of logistically having my own smaller group of students that I can focus on as important as you know what I mean (Interview, May 5th).

His administration supported his idea and implementation but ultimately, because the structure of the learning communities impacted other educators Max stopped the program.

> All those other students have to go into other classes and I didn't feel that was fair to get a teacher's you know what I mean you know their my colleagues I think the school would have done it but I just think probably my colleagues would have done it too but I just don't think that's fair (Interview, May 5th).

Max's mindfulness towards his colleagues pushed him to end this program. As we made the point before, educators who worked together found that they were able to support and empower each other. Max's consideration to his colleagues came from a place of inclusion, which ultimately impacted the students' access to resources.

Analysis

The last theme documents the outcome of self-empowerment and empowering others, which meant educators intervened and addressed problematic practices. The knowledge acquisition which educators practiced allowed them to gain more information about undocumented students and their experiences. Therefore, when educators witnessed that undocumented students could be impacted by policy or would be unable to engage in school, empowered educators would look for answers and support. It is crucial for educators to identify these practices because the exclusion or dismissal of undocumented students repurposed national identify for the purpose of assigning acceptance and value on undocumented bodies. This falls in line with the principles that maintain sovereignty over territory through laws (Randolff, 2011a). Therefore, educators intervened through one-on-one actions or through with the help of administrative support. Both methods provided educators with a sense of knowledge and a confidence in their practice, allowing them to continue empowering other educators.

Summary of How all Three Themes Interact

We can see that while educators took on the roles of supporting undocumented students, they were often required to create these roles and understand them as they went along. As a result, educators sought ways to combat status-blind narratives and create visibility surrounding this issue. This was in an effort to educate the campus and provided them with an opportunity to empower educators. This also allowed for an opportunity to identify more allies. This led to the process of sharing resources. Ultimately, educators became more comfortable sharing informational material and providing advice as educators. This practice of identifying the "kinds of knowledge that educators sanction" is highlighted by Ariana Mangual Figueroa (2017) work. Educators must identify what are the methods to create a supportive and humanizing space for students. As educators continued to develop a wealth of knowledge, they also became more familiar with the experiences of students and the real consequences they continue to face. This understanding, allowed educators to identify, intervene, and support undocumented students. Depending on the state context this meant in the classroom and at other times it meant in city hall. These identified roles allowed educators to engage in a myriad of different spaces and policies that impact undocumented students. In the next section I look at the ways in which educators' interaction with policy resulted in the creation of resources and advocacy.

IN WHAT WAYS DO EDUCATORS SHAPE, INTERPRET, AND CREATE POLICY TO ADDRESS THE NEEDS OF UNDOCUMENTED STUDENTS?

In the previous section educators grappled with their role to support undocumented students. Those roles were consistent – educators identified their role to combat status-blind practices , empower educators, and with that knowledge intervene to help students navigate a variety of institutions. Throughout these conversations educators consistently referred to policy initiatives that obstructed undocumented students' education. Often the impact was unknown or not highlighted, because the campus and institutions were unaware of how it affected undocumented students. It was this focus on policy that implored me to ask the question – how do

educators interpret, shape, and create policy for undocumented students in their schools? As educators answered these questions, they described the steps they took in order to engage with policy in a way that supported undocumented students strategically and creatively. In this chapter, I identified three themes that emerged from this question 1. Educators interpreted policy in order to understand and identify the impact, 2. Educators appropriated policy to adapt and create policy to support students, and 3. Educators negotiated policy in order to take action and protect students from policy.

In an effort to engage with policy, educators described that they first accumulated extensive knowledge on the policies that impact undocumented students and their status. As mentioned in the previous chapter, educators who were a part of this work explained that at first, they were not completely knowledgeable and therefore sought out ways to inform themselves. In this effort they empowered others and ultimately formed networks with other educators in order to support themselves and their work. This knowledge acquisition extended into the socio-emotional support for undocumented students in an effort to understand how policies impacted their day-to-day experiences. In this chapter we will focus on the policies educators learned in an effort to support their students.

While educators were not necessarily trained in policy and its impact, their work with directly-impacted students allowed them to understand the implications of policy initiatives. Some educators first engaged with policy by researching whether their school districts were familiar with the policy and their own stance on it. Becky, a teacher in Arizona explained that she began to engage with policy when she saw it posted on her district's website. After she heard about *Plyler v Doe*, the 1982 Supreme Court case that allowed undocumented students equal access and rights to K-12 education, she searched for more information. She was able to locate a statement on the district's website that explained *Plyler v Doe* and its usage in the district.

> Actually, it's even on the website the board information...if you search discrimination...but it's April 1st to the *Plyler v Doe* legislation...I know if we are under no duty and obligation to collect any kind of citizenship information and we are there to

> educate all students regardless of their citizenship status. July 13th 2018, it was adopted July 27th 2010 and it was reinforced on July 13th 2018 (Interview, February 5th).

What Becky found particularly important about this posting was that the policy was reinforced by the district in an effort to address family and student concerns. The Supreme Court case itself was new information for Becky, and therefore the information provided to her on the website encouraged her to share with her colleagues in an effort to inform them too.

> I try to share that with my peers my colleagues and along with my students and I think that was it for me the number one thing and you know I learned about the *Plyler v Doe*s case I had no idea even though it's on the district website that's probably the same for many teachers (Interview, February 5th).

While some educators utilized websites and district messages for information, others noted that they needed to also understand school and district protocol to address or navigate policy concerns. Moreover, educators understood that they needed to be familiar with district and state policy in order to address student concerns. This showed up when students began to engage in political efforts outside of schools or when school policies excluded and targeted undocumented students. Educators also identified that policies which don't originate from education ultimately intersect with student experiences. Max, a teacher from New York, helped a student process an application to get her mother into the United States. However, the lawyer requested documentation about her school in order to process. When the student brought this concern to Max, it quickly shifted into a search for information on the policy and the student's application process.

> We didn't know whether what documentation was just that she was in school, if it was like a letter to advocate that she is a senior graduating and that's going to help push along the process and verify that she's in school and we went around and I found it was just like the basic documentation (Interview, May 5th).

These efforts where done ad hoc and required immediate action as they were often in moments of crisis.

> It was right before spring break so it was like we're running out of time we're running around I got one of the aides to help just get the basic documentation for the students that she's in school and formal whatever formal application and then we sat down and we wrote it's on the lawyer's name we found or website and then we were to script for her to

> call and she called to say you know what specifically do you need to send it through the message (Interview, May 5th).

When working with policy it was clear that educators utilized creative and often stressful methods to support undocumented students. At the same time educators worked to understand policy and explain to students. As a result, educators interpreted policies in the following ways; exclude, target, intersect. Once educators were able to interpret the way policies impacted their students, they negotiated policies to support their students.

Theme 1: Interpreting Policies to Understand and Identify

Datnow et al (2002) explained the practice of interpreting policy as a method to not only understand policy but also identify informal policies. Educators utilized this process to understand and identify policies that impact undocumented students. As the rest of this chapter will explain, policies do not need to be explicitly targeting undocumented students to influence their experience. Moreover, by interpreting policy educators identified the ways informal policies unintentionally interacted with student's daily lives. In this finding I utilized the following words as ways to identify and describe the policies that educators interacted with : excluded, target, intersect, and unspoken. The first four words were labeled by the educators themselves. Educators utilized this label to fully explain the impact that policy had on their students. The setting that educators referred to was often the classroom or the school. Even while policy came from outside of school, educators helped students navigate their experiences while in their classrooms or in the school they attended.

Excluded

As educators were asked how policies impacted their students, they were quick to interpret policies that excluded students. Educators defined "exclusion" as policies that did not take into consideration students' experiences or unknowingly did not make space for students to have the same experience as their citizen counterparts. Educators interpreted policy that came from different spaces, whether implemented by the school, district, or state.

At times, these policies did not speak directly to the experience of undocumented students but impacted one their other identities and ultimately created a greater impact. In one, more localized example, Robert a vice principal in Arizona explained that policy implemented in the school and by his administration unknowingly impacts undocumented students from participating in extracurricular activities. The policy did not ban undocumented students, instead it impacted student's ability to afford to participate in extracurricular activities.

> Extracurricular activities there's fees that students have to pay in order to participate. So, students that have said that they want to play soccer they have to be able to pay a fee to participate. Many undocumented students don't have that kind of financial means. I want to do everything we can to provide scholarships for them to participate we're going to work to find ways to waive the fee for them to participate or we're going to find the money (Interview, March 1st).

Robert's example primarily focused on the intersected identities of status and socio-economic class. In New York educators also highlighted school policies that ultimately hindered how undocumented students and families interact with the schools. Leo, an office manager in New York, pointed out that even simple protocols like asking for identification from families can exclude them from feeling included and welcomed in the school.

> We don't have anything in our school that would be detrimental to our undocumented students but then when you ask a family that's just coming out of the PTA meeting for an ID and when the person that asking looks like a police officer well then that's pretty impactful because all of these families don't have IDs and they don't want to share a Nicaraguan license to someone who looks like a cop it doesn't speak their language so the access to the building there's always security and everything of impact I understand the importance of keeping the children safe right, but that's an issue (Interview, July 11th).

Leo interpreted that even the method in which they implement policy influenced how families engage with the school. In this case it was through a security guard which intimidated families because of their uniform. Leo's example also highlighted how policies related to identification can hinder how undocumented family interact with schools. Ultimately, the fear of law enforcement and deportation also complicated how undocumented families engage with school.

Lastly, policies related to college-going practices also obscured how undocumented students go to college and whether they felt seen or heard. Educators interpreted that school

curriculum and narratives excluded undocumented student participation. This was particularly impactful when it related to college going practices. Anthony referred to college going initiatives as exclusionary of undocumented students because it pushed an idea that all students need to go to college without engaging in conversations of how to go to college.

> When we advertise that 100% of our students should go to college, like there was reform era of being high expectations, everyone's going to college… they don't ever acknowledge that there are barriers ...100% college readiness, things like that (Interview, March 21st).

Jessica in Arizona expanded on this idea by making note of the barriers that exist for undocumented students that pathways to college does not cover.

> For undocumented students, what about their pathways to get to college. I would say that was an interesting thing that pops out and how students are pushed out of higher education, it wasn't anything about can you even go? It was how to tell people if they're undocumented and that they should not be filling out FAFSA (Interview, March 10th).

Jessica's point was the schools did not engage in conversations about the experiences of undocumented students, instead they continued to push college as the only possible outcome to high school. Similarly, Anthony interpreted it was the limited conversations that ultimately caused students to feel disconnected from schooling.

> Undocumented students who are already were shutting down on the attending college conversations. And so, they had like internalized it but that wasn't their pathway, so I think that's the main way (Interview, March 21st).

Students internalized messages of exclusion because the policy did not take into account their status and therefore excluded them from pathways to college. While college pathway policies are not explicitly directed at any student, other policies which intersected with undocumented students were much more direct in their questioning. Gabriela in Arizona interpreted that undocumented students are excluded when policies related to college-going resources asked for a social security number. In Gabriela's case she noted that Advanced Placement tests administered by the College Board ask students to submit a social security number when submitting a waiver.

> I offered a fee waiver for the student's AP test but because they ask for social security number, I believed that it couldn't be done, that's a policy that I noticed that's because in the district we accept all students regardless of immigration status (Interview, March 9th).

Leo in New York added to this point and stressed that resources provided through federal funding also require a social security number.

> When you fill out this application for a federal one for Title One, those applications they still require social security number (Interview, July 11th).

As programs asked for a social security number, the same ask extended into other federal programs that undocumented students qualified for but where explicitly limited to citizenships. Moreover, state based programs which excluded undocumented students were widely advertised and encouraged in the school, with no alternative for undocumented students. One example in New York is a popular youth summer employment program that allows students to work in an effort to gain professional experience. However, because it required work authorization undocumented students did not qualify for it. Ruth in New York brought up this program as an example of how resources for citizens are not accompanied with resources for undocumented students equally.

> Application for [the program], it is really important for students, we share it everywhere and every year, but it does not accept students without status (Interview, April 5th).

As explained, there are many programs that exclude undocumented students. However, this program was particularly impactful because it was widely pushed that students apply. In New York this initiative is advertised in all schools.

Lastly, educators interpreted policies that obstruct translation services and are also excluding undocumented students who require documents in alternative languages. Leo the office manager in New York noted that there are not nearly enough translation documents and moreover, the limit on how many languages are provided directly conflicts with policies that entitle students to have services translated in their home language.

> The state of New York talks about how they have a bilingual system, they have all these interpreters and all these translated documents. But even out here I can't do it all, I can't have the translator when I'm going to help families who call me in detention

> proceedings...I don't have time to translate the stupid letter announcing to the parents that they're going to change their license in April. I can't get a translator to translate [an indigenous language] or whatever language because they have 10-15 students from that dialect. So, you know yeah there's a lot of translated documents for sure in when you go to these enrollment (Interview, July 11th).

Leo expressed his frustrations that the department of education communicated with recently arrived families in an effort to keep them updated, however, they rarely provided translated documents especially when the languages was not widely represented in the schools. While educators work with directly-impacted students they were able to interpret and identify how policies excluded undocumented students. Although these were policies that educators noted as unintentionally exclusionary to students, there were also clear examples of policies that intentionally targeted undocumented students and their families.

Target

As educators continued to share which policies impacted their students. Educators interpreted policies which targeted undocumented students via policies that were explicitly implemented to "target" undocumented families. Educators from Arizona, more than New York, referred to policies that targeted undocumented students and their families. This was not a surprise to educators considering the contested history of Arizona as one of the most anti-immigrant states in the country with several laws that are meant to target immigrant and undocumented people. Throughout this section I highlighted the ways in which policy, as Ball (1994) argued, reproduces culture. In a state like Arizona that has reproduced anti-immigrant legislations, policy at the ground level also seeks to target immigrants and reproduce ideas of citizenship and worthiness.

One example of targeting policies in Arizona concerned access to community colleges. Julia, a higher education administrator explained that online applications to community colleges often targeted undocumented and mixed-status families to prevent them from enrolling.

> If you fill in the online application to attend community college then you're automatically flagged as an out of state, I think we are noticing more and more that there are a couple of other areas where if your under 18 they ask you where your parents are born if your parents are born out of the country you are flagged as out of state, whether you were born

> in the country or not and I have fortunately a school counselor at one of our districts who is Latina and she was born here and her husband was born here and her child was born here and when she filled out the application she was labeled as out of state (Interview, February 17th).

Julia explained that several U.S. born students in mixed status families are asked to come on campus to prove that they are citizens in order to receive in-state tuition and ultimately enroll in community college. This can be a particularly stressful situation considering the rhetoric in the country and especially in Arizona. Julia explained that undocumented high school seniors were the most disheartened because they were essentially excluded from community college.

> It came up, we have most of our students who apply in the fall as seniors and it was identified as an issue, but we couldn't figure out what was causing it. So, we had students…both who are undocumented and documented…so they have to take they have to take in their proof of residency now or their social security number in order to stop the charge that out of state tuition (Interview, February 17th).

When this study began and when this research was conducted, Arizona did not provide undocumented students with in-state tuition. As of August of 2019 Arizona, now provided undocumented students the opportunity to apply for in-state tuition. However, this process still targeted how undocumented students can enroll in Arizona institutions. Julia went on to explain that this was further antagonized when the community colleges contacted students to submit a 1098-T form that required a social security number, noting that if they do not have one, they will need to report themselves immediately.

> The local community college is now being told that they have to send out what was...so we just found out that our local Community College sent out a form that's called a 1098-T form and basically it's our students in the dual enrollment are required for the first time...to send them this form to all registered students and with no explanation. I got emails from a student's teacher going on that my students are being asked what this is because what was sent out to them or when I asked I got a link to a website...if a person is choosing a tuition credit...the form apparently also says...if you did not have a Social Security number on file you need to immediately report to the Community College office to give your Social Security number (Interview, February 17th).

Educators interpreted these policies as targeting undocumented students because it directly asked students about their statuses, the answer then prompted a barrier for undocumented students. In

this instance the policy of asking for parent's status disrupted their education and could ultimately push them to withdraw from school because they feel unsafe or unsupported.

Intersects

As educators shared policies that effect undocumented students, they also consistently highlighted intersectional policies. Educators interpreted intersecting policy as initiatives that come from sectors outside of education and intersect with the undocumented students' statuses. While the policy did not come from the education field it ultimately intersected with that space because it was a field that undocumented students and families navigate simultaneously. In some of these instances educators pointed to a policy that impacted their students even without a specific student experience or example.

In Arizona Julia, the higher education administrator, noted that a tax law began to impact her undocumented students' experiences. As I referenced earlier in this chapter, a local community college began contacting undocumented students asking them to respond to a tax document notification. As students struggled to make sense of the document Julia struggled with providing guidance because it required some level of understanding of tax law.

> We can't give tax advice, but we said it does not look like this is anything that our students really need to do much with it was simply a formality and part of the community college's mistake (Interview, February 17th).

However, because it also involved their status, students had limited options of whom they could reach out to for answers, therefore the responsibility fell on the educators. Julia also brought up the issue of state licensure for students. Many undocumented students enrolled in dual enrollment programs as high school students, to receive credentials towards a specific type of career. However, each state determines if undocumented students are allowed to receive licensure for their credentials. Unfortunately, it varied depending on the field. Julia mentioned that this policy required educators to be familiar with the nuances of who is eligible and not eligible in order to provide adequate education advice.

> The reality is that there are certain classes...that for some of the area's, I believe two of them 1% or more. Cosmetology students are required to take a state board to get a

> cosmetology license without a social security number they cannot take the state license so, well they can take the classes they can accumulate the hours they can essentially do all the work and then they aren't able to get a license. I guess my opinion is that it's important that students know both what they can and can't do in that particular situation, it doesn't mean that they shouldn't do it (Interview, February 17th).

Julia's interpretation highlighted the nuanced advice that educators must provide in order to fully inform students of their options and allow them the opportunity to decide what they must do. Other educators referenced to their larger policies that influence the way in which students will receive support in their schooling. Becky, a teacher in Arizona, talked about the desegregation order Arizona is currently under. Arizona remains one of the most segregated states in the country. This has placed it under violation of the desegregation order. This desegregation order primarily impacts Latinx and black students . Considering the undocumented population in Arizona it is clear that this population will be included and impacted in the desegregation order. While Becky did not note how it would impact students, she referred to it as a policy she is keeping an eye on because it could alter the experience of undocumented students on campus.

> You probably are aware of the desegregation law. I think that there's a big effort to provide desegregated education and particularly to minority students. The largest are Mexican American and African American and not to discriminate with undocumented students. So, I mean I think it helps with obviously with counselors working with students and college preparation (Interview, February 10th).

Much like Becky, Kelly also keeped an eye on policies that could impact undocumented students. In Kelly's case she highlighted that the state's move towards a voucher system for K-12 will regulate undocumented student's access for resources.

> I'm wondering if it's what's been going on in politics has caused a shift, you know the different governors in Arizona now have been less than supportive of public education much more about vouchers and charter schools and so I'm wondering how it will impact undocumented students (Interview, March 17th).

In New York educators faced similar hurdles. As mentioned earlier in the chapter many language based policies are impacting undocumented students in New York. One educator highlighted the importance of not conflating the two groups; assuming all undocumented students are English

Language Learners. However, the intersectional experience of undocumented ELL students highlighted by Judy's point.

> There is some conflation with this group and the ESL Club, so we have to be very explicit that this is not what it was that there's overlap. I think some of their strongest undocumented students' members of the group are ELL which is also you know something I think about. An issue because many of our students are undocumented and are also ELLs and they faced a double barrier of language access and immigration status (Interview, March 2nd).

Anthony, another teacher in New York highlighted Judy's point and noted that undocumented ELLs students are often overidentified as ELLs and have a much harder time getting out of that system.

> Most students who had IEPs received them in elementary school…some schools over diagnose a lot of them a lot of ELLs with IEPs but a lot of them, a lot of them give IEPs on a diagnosis penalty to students which won't move them out until you reach a certain English proficiency (Interview, March 2nd).

Anthony, like Judy, are two teachers who also work with ELLs, meaning they were aware and informed about the process in which students could get stuck in the ELL track. However, because this effects undocumented students disproportionately it is not all educators will be informed on the intersection of these two identities. Additionally, in New York, educators highlighted the role of Immigration Customs Enforcement (ICE) in the lives of undocumented students. This made it imperative that educators also be familiar with the intersection of these sectors. Despite New York's label as a sanctuary city Judy also explains that ICE collaboration between New York State and ICE means it is not a sanctuary city. In fact, this meant that it is necessary for educators to be well versed on the intersectional policies

> New York City claims to be a sanctuary city but you know on the ground it often has not been a reality so you know in theory and being a sanctuary city law enforcement does not cooperate with ICE but there was also ICE at Rikers and ICE out of Rikers campaign for 5 years (Interview, March 2nd).

As Judy highlights, ICE collaboration with police and the state still exists. Moreover, there are ways in which ICE integrates into the school system. Ruth expand on this point as they highlight the ways in which school invite ICE into their space.

> Federal foster care agency is in charge of unaccompanied minors but then when they turn 18, they have to do an ICE check. So, there's like uncertainty, a lot of gray scale left,.. And that had a big impact. There was a student…ICE came to the school and the student was sent down and outside to ICE, so it did have a specific impact, and that happened just last year (Interview, April 5th).

Ruth's point complicated the role of ICE in schools. It then requires educators to be familiar with ICE protocol and become aware of how the foster care system works, otherwise students run the risk of being detained. Much like in Arizona educators highlighted larger state policies that they are working to understand in order to address the disproportionate impact. In New York, Leo interpreted gentrification as an intersectional policy. Although there is no one policy on gentrification in New York, there are several real estate policies that intersected with low-income minoritized communities all over New York.

> The implication of rising cost of housing which there's a huge overlap between that and the impact on a documented students and families and being able to afford continuing to live in a state (Interview, July 11th).

Leo includes this point because students are being forced to move or take on tenants in their apartments in order to the pay the rent. The interaction with housing and contracts for tenants can prevent undocumented families from finding stable and consistent homes.

Unspoken

Lastly, educators interpreted practices to identify "unspoken" policies as something that was impacting undocumented students. They interpreted unspoken policies as protocol and practice that was not directly spoken about but was visibly practiced. This was different from informal policies because informal policies were recognized as a substitution for a missing formal policy. Unspoken policies on the other hand, were simply practiced by educators without prompting. Despite the informality of these policies, unspoken policies had profound impact on students often because they functioned in silence. With this in mind we think back to Ball (1994) noting that policy discourse reproduces culture in these instances unspoken policy functions in the same light as unspoken policy. In Arizona, Gabriela referenced an unspoken policy that undocumented students should not be in AP classes. While there was no policy in place that she

could refer to, Gabriela notes she came to that conclusion because students expressed that they were discourage from taking AP classes.

> There are no policies in place that say undocumented students can't take AP classes so there are undocumented students but...they know because you are they're still going to be put you in this box but I think with this student group they both have definitely seen immigration a different lens...I think that definitely that has impacted...they don't feel comfortable going to AP classes so and why they're not being recruited...and I know they're smart they're coming in with a 4.0 GPA from Mexico and so that means that they have the discipline to be in an AP class but they are not being recruited (Interview, March 9th).

As Gabriela continued to work with the students it was clear to her that they were not being recruited which prevented them from accessing different resources. New York educators also mentioned similar unspoken policies that were preventing undocumented students from navigating their education. Judy in New York talked about the ways in which undocumented and ELL students were deferred from completion of their courses.

> I pushed back on this somewhat successfully, but there's some unstated policies still around the completion of undocumented students and English language learners (Interview, March 2nd).

In this same case, Judy had not referred to a specific policy but a trend in which undocumented students and ELLs were not expected to reach completion of their courses. It appeared that these unspoken policies come from assumptions and stereotypes of undocumented students. While these are just two unspoken policies in Arizona and New York there can likely be more unspoken polices that implicate undocumented students.

Analysis

As educators continued to build a base of knowledge for supporting their students, it became clear that educators must not only know policy but interpret it as well. By interpreting policy educators identified formal and informal policies. Educators in this study detailed the ways in which formal policy excluded, targeted, and intersected in the lives of undocumented students, hindered their ability to navigate school, their interactions with law enforcement, and their experience with other identities. Lastly, interpreting policy allowed educators to identify informal policy that can also impact undocumented students such as informal and unspoken policies. All

the policies described by the educators in this study had nuanced and convoluted practices that were further complicated by student's status. While there are plenty of policies block undocumented student's well-being and education, educators also provided examples of how they appropriated policy in order to adapt and create more policy to support undocumented students.

Theme 2: Appropriating Policy to Adapt

As educators continued to interact with policy and interpret the impact, they took additional steps to appropriate policy that provides support for undocumented students. Educators appropriated policy (Levinson and Sutton, 2001) to adapt policy as a resource for others. Often organizational agents or empowerment agents create unauthorized policy in an effort to address an authorized policy. Moreover, educators may also negotiate policy (Wagner 1998) to understand and create action and policy in response to authorized policies. However, educators from across both states did so to address gaps from their states. Despite the difference in state politics and policies educator created similar policy responses. In the following section I shared the ways in which educators created policy in an effort to address some of the policy issues they faced which supporting undocumented students.

Classroom Policy

Educators shared their policy initiatives that were centered in their classrooms and in their schools. Organizations such as schools (Bidwell, 2001; Frank and Zhao, 2005; Penuel et al, 2010; Lizardy-Hajbi, 2011) developed institutional order through policies (Scott, 2001). Educators are organizational agents that created institutional order by appropriating policy. These policies were defined as such because they primarily impacted only their immediate students, whether in the classroom or in their caseload. The most informal of all these policies was Becky's classroom policy that students cannot use the "illegal" to define the undocumented student experience.

> Well I do point out when a student…whether it will be saying illegal or other discriminatory labels as well, so we do have a discussion about that (Interview, February 10th).

Within her classroom Becky has created a process in which students who choose to engage with that word will begin a conversation on the usage of the word, ultimately explaining that the word is dehumanizing and discriminatory. Language was also an crucial factor in creating classroom based policy. Ruth a teacher in New York explained that school resources primarily centered students with work authorization. As educators announced resources for students they would rarely, if ever include undocumented students. Ruth decided to implement an informal classroom policy in which whenever they shared a resource that did not include undocumented students, they would communicate opportunities that do or at least communicate that there are alternative opportunities.

> If they don't have that number, they can't do it so something that we've spoken about in staff conversations is needed to direct and say so for students in our advisory that are undocumented. So, when I present, I say, "who can provide social security number? if that's not you then don't worry about it because we're also going to reach out about opportunities for you this summer." This is just making sure that that's not the only thing we talked about that day (Interview, April 5th).

These two policies, albeit personal and informal, focused on the power of words and language. Educators identified that they needed to create a policy to adequately support students, whether it was through understanding the impact of language or normalizing the conversation surrounding resources for undocumented students.

At a larger scale, a popular local policy educators created included scholarship policies for undocumented students. Several schools created scholarships that could be distributed to undocumented students or explicitly for undocumented students in order to provide them with money for college. In Arizona, Julia explained how several of her schools partnered up with community organizations that would provide scholarships directly to undocumented students.

> I'm going to the volunteer board with [our school district] we have continued to partner with [an organization] that offers a specific scholarship that provide funding for students to are in that situation. So, trying to provide additional support for the students to go to college (Interview, February 17th).

Julia, through collaboration, was able to create a policy in the form of a scholarship that allowed her to accumulate funding for undocumented students in a way that the state did not. In New York educators also created scholarship policies that allowed students to benefit from funding.

> We created a scholarship for undocumented students. We might have been the first school to do it this, someone the first worked at the school and the teachers worked on [with and organization] to develop a scholarship program...There's legal stuff around that so we do outside fundraising all year and in-house we will work with undocumented students in our community (Interview, February 17th).

Similar to Arizona, high schools collaborated with community spaces with funds to provide undocumented student scholarship at their school. This allowed them to avoid legal barriers and simply provide funds. Other schools in New York also provided these opportunities. Leo a manager in another high school talked about a scholarship opportunity he also provided.

> They're going to raise a fund to give scholarships to undocumented students every year, they graduate and it's a very broad scholarship not like just academic but community effort. Academic is one aspect of the scholarship but it's also like if the child has a lot of school spirit and so I showed him the opportunity (Interview, July 11th).

Leo also highlighted that the scholarship did not only focus on academic rigor but a holistic understanding of the student's experience. This prevented them from prioritizing students that would receive other scholarships.

Another way in which educators appropriated undocumented student centered policies in their schools was by incorporating restorative justice practices in the school. Restorative justice practices are a relatively new practice that New York Schools have engaged with students in their schools. Rather than concentrating on discipline policies, educators focus on supporting student growth and cultivating advocacy. This is particularly impactful for undocumented students because discipline can lead to law enforcement which could threaten undocumented student's livelihood. Max referenced the way in which restorative justice practices position the school in a space in which they can address undocumented student experiences.

> I think a lot of it you know disciplining in all New York Schools is transitioning to restorative justice and non-suspension mode I think we're heading on a curve with that and I think it's just the school is always trying to create relationships, and this is the foundation (Interview, May 5th)…

Leo, an educator at another school validated when he highlighted that his school was also moving towards restorative justice practices which prevents police from interacting with students.

> We're very big on restorative justice here for the past five years it's been a process it's just this past year we've done full-time implementation into how we do with cops (Interview, July 11th).

As alluded to above, restorative justice policies in schools became necessary when creating policies to be mindful of undocumented student that wanted to participate in civic engagement and regarding police presence at the school. Angie explained this connection by explaining how to incorporate students who are interested in protests.

> In the past years we've taken students to protests and rallies. Last year we had students participate in a letter-writing campaign with a written letters to the Chancellor and Mayor...asking for formal funding for restorative justice and total cut down on school-to-prison to deportation pipeline and then we had like an end-of-the-year to students or different schools come in and we had these letters and we presented the letters to the mayor's office which was also part of a bigger initiative (Interview, June 18th).

As undocumented students continued to engage in protest and campaigns, they began to create policies to incorporate student activism in an effort to protect the students from discipline policies. Judy explained the process of students participating in formal protests.

> Specifically to our school, I'm not sure I know other schools that operate slightly different so specifically bringing students to protest we need to get a field trip form and needs to be signed by the parent and usually we need to get permission to the parents we need to get a poster or flyer about the event that we're going to be taking students so it is like an official school permission (Interview, March 2nd).

While this highlighted the process in which students formalized protest participation, educators had to be mindful when students participated in informal protests. Restorative justice allowed for educators to intervene when law enforcement was involved. This mindset became especially helpful when law enforcement was such a large presence in both Arizona and New York public schools.

In New York Leo referenced an appropriated by the principal to minimize police interaction with students. While the police were still present on campus and would intervene when appropriate, the principal and educators were interested in protecting students if they

engage in fights. In an effort to address fighting on campus the principal trained educators who are able to break up the fights.

> The principal is down, we don't want the police involved in our sites we don't want the safety officers involved in our fights we want to handle fights in house right and that was communicated to me…there are some schools where at the first sign the first incident of violence they just called a safety officer in the safety officer calls the cops and they show up right away in the school (Interview, July 11th).

Leo's point to not involve the cops, protected undocumented students from interacting with a state enforcement agency that could lead to deportation. As a result, the school appropriated a policy to train safety officers not just to intervene in fights but to also connect with the community.

> Train the safety officers a lot better and speaking more languages...more aid in different languages that all parents are welcome regardless of whatever it is they speak...so they speak on the policies that impact our students (Interview, July 11th).

Arizona placed similar protocols to prevent law enforcement from interacting with students. Julia in Arizona explained that in an effort to limit law enforcement interaction with undocumented students they appropriated the public safety/security policy to hire an on campus public safety officer. The policy included that the individual would be someone who knows the community and possibly a graduate from the school.

> There were a lot of questions about what border patrol can and cannot do and with the Police Department, it's funny because people who are great advocates struggle with some things in our school culture. For example, we don't have an onsite police officer on our high school campus. We do not go through the state school resource program instead we hire people who we know and who we are comfortable having on our campuses. Most of them are graduates of [our districts or neighboring districts] and so while they definitely have a job to do, we are more able to work with them as far as whether a student our students is a situation is handled on campus. So, this shows us a great deal more leverage as frankly as whether someone is arrested or whether students not arrested (Interview, February 17th).

Julia explained that because it is not mandated for schools to include a city officer, she was able to utilize district money to invest in someone more intentional. Someone they could train, that was connected to the community and could provide students with safety and support.

> There is no system we have to follow; we simply use our own district money to hire our own public safety. But we do have them in place on our campuses (Interview, February 17th).

This became important in Arizona when Border Patrol illegally positioned themselves in school parking lots. Julia explained that there was a practice in the state where border patrol will park themselves in front of schools or in their parking lots. In an effort to get Border patrol out of the space they would dispatch the safety person to find out what Border Patrol wanted and ask them to leave the space.

> Several practices of a border patrol parked near our school, so we would dispatch our safety person to find out why they were there, why they were doing that (Interview, February 17th).

While Arizona specifically dealt with Border Patrol presence on campus, Both New York and Arizona had to negotiate and create policies to address the presence of ICE in their communities. New York educators communicated how to address ICE presence on campus. Angie, and educator in New York described how the principal communicated policies created regarding ICE on campus.

> The principal emailed the entire school staff the protocol for security if ICE were to come to our school so she had to, in her email, state that we are very particular of the fact that if ICE could not come into our school (Interview, June 18th).

Angie described that security officers would have to stop ICE agents and receive approval from the Chancellor in order to enter.

> Security would have to stop them downstairs because as a protocol. The Securities have been informed that too. So that would only happened recently even though I believe the Chancellor's said last year on what schools need to do if ICE were to come into the school (Interview, June 18th).

However, Anthony and Judy both expanded on these policies noting that it did not suddenly appear and in fact required a lot of advocacy work from educators to negotiate, create, and push these policies. Anthony noted that the previous mayor had no such policy for ICE, and it was not until after President Trump was elected that a policy was implemented.

> Stronger policy on keeping ICE out of schools, which under [the mayor] at the time was basically non-existent and then under [this current chancellor]. The first was quiet and

> then like under Trump at first was quite weak but then we you know we played a role to make sure that some of her meetings were interrupted and now it's much more strong than the first policy (Interview, March 21st).

In fact, Anthony explained that the previous chancellor mandated that individuals could give permission for ICE to enter the school. This was a particularly terrifying though considering biases individual principals may have about undocumented students.

> Principals could grant permission for ICE to enter the school and now it's the chancellor themselves that has to Grant access to the school so that's much, that's you know it'll be harder for ICE to come to our schools no matter what they have. That it goes over the principal, since many in the city, many of whom are racist and anti-immigrant have that power was terrifying so they're still a lot of thoughts about having them educate people about the policy and making sure that like every school secretary and school safety officer understands (Interview, March 21st).

Judy noted that while specific schools do not have policies for ICE presence on campus, groups of educators pushed back against on the previous policies allowing principals to give permission. As a result of educator activism, the Chancellor has enacted a policy.

> Official policies are not specific within our schools but you know there is now because of advocacy work that we've been conducted to an official in the DOE, to deal with policy of what to do if ICE shows up which is I think to my understanding about as restrictive in terms of preventing ice from coming into the building as a district can legally get, and we're not just a district but a department (Interview, March 2nd).

Judy explained that even when ICE officials had a "legal warrant" there are barriers in place to prevent ICE from entering the building and kidnapping a student.

> Policy is essentially ICE can't come into the building they have to have a warrant, even if they have to have a warrant for a particular individual the school calls legal and there's a lot of barriers (Interview, March 2nd).

As educators continued to advocate for policies that protect and support undocumented students Judy explained that her and a network of educators created a policy at the state level to propose an Immigrant Liaison position. This position would serve as a support advocate for undocumented and immigrant students at schools.

> Before Trump, four years ago we pushed to have a district-wide immigrant liaison, person, point, coordinator, whatever. They ignored it the first year and the second year before we knew it when the Chancellor was on her way out, they picked it back up they endorse it today and presented it (Interview, March 2nd).

Analysis

As educators identified how they created policies they compartmentalized their practices in varying levels and institutions. Such levels included classrooms and schools, districts, state, and federal. These levels meant that educators had to continue to confer how they interact with policy and how they navigate their ability to appropriate the policies. Educators continued to advocate and allocate resources for this role in hopes of providing undocumented students and immigrants students with this position. Educators created "rights to rights" (Benhabib, 2004) for their students' education. Even without rights educators created policy to provide students a pathway, albeit limited. Indeed, educators in Arizona and New York cultivated knowledge about policies, identified policies that impacted undocumented students and appropriated alternative policies at the local and state level to protect and serve students. The process described in this chapter exemplify how educators worked to interpret policy in an effort to understand the impact of formal and informal policies, which was followed by appropriating policy in order to adapt it and create more mindful practices.

Theme 3: Negotiating Policy to Take Action

As educators cultivated knowledge about these policies, they negotiated policies and created new policies that could take action to protect undocumented students. While many of these policies could be formalized there were several that could not and therefore required educators to negotiate the creation of underground policies.

Unlike previous labels, the label of underground policies was not formulated by educators. In fact, educators seldom explicitly identified these policies. Rather educators spoke of these policies in vague and often secretive ways and simply identified that these policies were neither documented nor allowed. Educators also explained their hesitancy to share these policies, especially the risk of exposing access to these resources and in some cases implicate the livelihood of educators who created it. Therefore, educators explained that these policies were on a need-to-know-basis. It is important to talk about these policies in order to fully grasp the lengths at which educators must go to truly provide a safe and equitable space for undocumented

students. It is also necessary to note that educators have entrusted me with this information in order to share any identifiers discreetly and share their work intentionally.

While underground policies did not follow any kind of protocol or formalization their creation follows similar tenants of the policies listed above. Educators followed the same tenants of policy as practice to cultivate underground policies; interpreted policies that impacted undocumented students and appropriated policies to create unauthorized policies. Educators then negotiated the ways in which policies impact students in an effort to identify how to create action. Moreover, these policies were created as a response to educators' will to support undocumented student, even in the most drastic measure possible. Looking at Benhabib's (2004) work, educators form legislation and discursive will to adopt policies that work towards universal hospitality, in these examples educators worked towards equity and justice.

Underground Policy

Indeed, educators took action and created policy to appropriate and interpret policy, educators also began creating underground policies. In the previous section I noted that educators labeled the interpreted policies, however, the label of "underground" did not come from the participants and instead I utilize this term to describe their negotiated policies. This is because educators hesitated to speak about the policies and even more so to label them. Educators are conducting fugitive work in an effort to equitably support their undocumented students, this meant being discreet in speaking about policies. Often conversation about underground policies occurred in private informal conversations with other educators. These conversation were often initiated by higher up administration in an effort to address existing concerns on their campuses. These meetings resulted in action plans that were kept on a need to know basis. In Arizona, post 2016 election, superintendents were called into a meeting to address the concerns that students and families presented regarding the messaging of the new president and his anti-immigrant campaign. Julia recalls this meeting as the beginning of action plans that centered those most vulnerable in the state of Arizona.

> After the election our superintendents, there were a group of us and our schools were directed to call the faculty meeting the morning after the election and at that time, actually at the state level, the meeting was not in support of the election results but it was to express concerns for some of our students and some of our families who might be fearful after the election and what it meant and it provided some guidance as to working with students (Interview, February 17th).

While concerns were raised and expressed by staff, Julia recalls that one particular individual was upset that this conversation was happening and demanded to know if this would have happened if the election results were different.

> There was this one person we had one person who was very very angry and wanted to know that if the election had gone the other way there was going to be a meeting so I'm saying that most of the time, see this gets into my own personal values, I think most of the time we our school culture is to support all of the people within our communities as best as we can and so for that particular example (Interview, February 17th).

Despite how upset this individual was it was clear that the priority was to support students and their families. So much so that Julia was pulled aside and told that the most important thing was the student and not the concerns of people who did not care about the fear the students were experiencing.

> It was determined that it was more important than the fear of some of our students was more important than stepping on the toes of people who would question why that had been necessary (Interview, February 17th).

Julia continued to explain that the educator who pulled her aside began to talk about resolutions to address the concerns of students. This educator expressed their dedication to advocating for undocumented students and taking action.

> Informal conversations with him, this really does happen informally, he has said to me when we were working on the resolution for this, "if there is one issue that I'm willing to go the distance with at any cost it's this issue," and I agree but that is not something, again, where I talk about making formal statements or informal statements there is a pressing, there is no point for him to stand up and make that announcement unless it is connected to something (Interview, February 17th).

At this point of our interview where Julia mentioned that she would like to be identified via a pseudonym in order to protect her identity. Julia was concerned that any connection to this educator would put her job at risk.

In New York educators expressed a similar pattern of higher ups who utilized discretion to address impending concerns or actions that needed to be taken. Leo mentioned that as President Trump continued to attack immigrants the principal would casually run into him and make a comment or suggestion that some action needs to be taken.

> Today, like she walked in today and said "have you read the New York Time's article yes? Okay. Let's set up something for that we can continue a plan of what to do to (Interview, February 17th)."

While these were examples of educators who were supported, the creation of underground systems were a result of anti-immigrant policies and individuals. Gabriela, the office manager in Arizona described that she needed to create underground resources because her administration was not supportive, especially in informal settings.

> I tried to help the students, but we were doing it "under the water" before because my administrators, I heard many times saying, making comments that I knew that if they knew I was helping them helping them they would not be supportive so I had to help them under the water (Interview, March 9th).

In some other cases educators sought resources that were also underground. Kelly in Arizona connected with organizations that helped undocumented students and were not public about it in order to protect their group.

> Organizations that were under the radar processed undocumented students and registered them in school and got them to go to school and they would help them with a lot of finance pieces and so then I could also figure out what scholarships are out there that can potentially support students (Interview, March 17th).

Educators took action and continued to coordinate and plan through these informal conversations. As a result, an underground system of policy took place in both Arizona and New York. Throughout the rest of this section it is important to note that the political climate and context of each state impacted how educators could negotiate and create action to support undocumented students. In the remainder of this chapter I described the underground policies educators created in order to support and advocate for undocumented students, even after understanding the full consequences of their actions.

In-State Access

One of the most impactful policies of Arizona is proposition 300, which mandated that students can only receive in-state tuition if they could prove citizenship. This proposition terminated undocumented students' ability to afford public education, it mandated that undocumented students would be charged out-of-state or international rates. Prior to its passage higher education was much more accessible. Julia, a long-time educator in Arizona, described it in the following way.

> Prior to the State of Arizona passing proposition 300, whether students receive residency or not, was a moot point. I know there were vast implications but by and large, as a school counselor at that time, students just went on to school if they wanted to go, so it really wasn't an issue. I think the most that ever came up was that students were told, and I remember who told me about this perhaps another counselor at some point, that if by chance someone should ask you about residency just tell him your paperwork is in progress and it seemed sufficient at the institutions that are local, here for us in [Arizona] (Interview, February 17th).

This previous protocol allowed undocumented students to enroll and receive an education. Unfortunately, the passing of proposition 300 changed the policy field in Arizona. As a result, educators negotiated the creation of another internal policy that allowed them to appropriate policies such as their loopholes and errors in the system. This ultimately allowed undocumented students to receive in-state tuition. The policy forced educators to think creatively and ask themselves how they can support and help students enroll in college without coming across barriers at the beginning of the process. As Julia started working with students who were either already in college or about to enter, she began to think of ways in which an internal policy could help students. She identified two ways in which she could support students. The first solution focused on students who were in dual enrollment programs.

> How can I enter information for a student so there is not an automatic rejection of that student's application based on the lack of residency information? So for example right now we are a robust school district in terms of moving towards dual enrollment options for students so if there was an almost constant checking on dual enrollment, but our local community college has moved away from requiring verification of lawful residency form, but at the same time when a student is in a system they need to have their social security number attached to it at some point. However, it's not required while they are registered in dual enrollment so it might be possible that a student was in the system and is

> continued to be enrolled in courses even if even, when that information is missing (Interview, February 17th).

Undocumented high school students were allowed to enroll in dual enrollment programs to take college courses. This process did not require a social security number or any other verification process. As a result, some students were already in the system when they applied to college. Matriculating them into a formal college process through dual enrollment became a fluid transition even with information missing. The next step was identifying how to enroll new students in the program. Julia addressed this by appropriating an error in the system. As mentioned in the previous chapters when enrolling in community college students were asked to state their parent's residency status. If students selected that their parents were born out of the country it automatically labeled them ineligible, even when the student was a U.S. Citizen. This error did not permit many students from enrolling online. Julia utilized this error to create a policy that requires everyone's application to be submitted via paper document.

> Working with the community college right now as to why are these errors happening and right now our current work around it which works for many many different students for different reasons is to have everybody do the paper application and then haven't had entered by people who are less likely to be concerned by any missing information (Interview, February 17th).

These two policies allowed undocumented students to attend a local community college. The process itself was created by utilizing internal errors, such as incorrectly identifying U.S citizens and Arizona residents as out of state or international. Ultimately, the final step became informing educators of this process in a discreet and safe way. Often networks of educators were utilized to share these resources. Kelly recalls when she found out about these resources in order to provide undocumented students with access to college.

> The network of high school counselors and teachers that were meeting periodically I got information on how to navigate and how to get students access to Community College ...There was a processing place in which certain people in the county would help say that they were able to get in-state tuition. I didn't know how they would make that happen, but I just knew they were there to help them (Interview, March 17th).

With state policy that is currently impacting undocumented students, educators were able to appropriate errors in the system to create loopholes for their students. These underground policies are continuously shared, which allowed folks to be directed to someone who can provide them with access. While educators in Arizona dealt with their state policy, New York educators navigated district protocol and federal policy to address student concerns.

Disciplinary actions

In New York, educators and students participated in civil disobedience in an effort to take political action. This increased with the post 2016 presidential administration. As a result, students continued to participate in protests. Disciplinary action at the district level impacted students differently. While U.S. citizen students would be reprimanded by receiving a call home, depending on the amount of absences, undocumented and immigrant students could interact with the school to deportation pipeline. Educators therefore had to be creative in order to give students the space to participate while being mindful of the district policy. To prevent any calls home or documentation, Educators decided to give space and time at the school for students to prepare for the protest and walk together. Leo shared how he negotiated this with students during a large protest in New York.

> So that day we just kind of, it must have been some classes doing work, but a lot of the classes that were Yemeni heavy they were just doing signs for the rally. We kind of came to a verbal agreement with the students that you don't have to cut class to get ready, to get your scarf, and get your sign you can do it here and then wait till 2:45 and then we can all go together. So that was kind of like the unspoken verbal agreement. And yeah everybody went, and 100 kids came to the rally from the school with a bunch of teachers (Interview, July 11th).

The negotiated unspoken agreement with the students was not much different than the informal conversations that educators had to create policy. This effort allowed students to participate and not face the consequences of cutting class to attend a protest. Additionally, the principal was also strategic and supportive of educator efforts. Leo recalled that the principal left early in order to avoid seeing the students leave for the protest, which prevented her from having to report the informal protest field trip.

> The principal is being smart, as she is, she just left a little bit early that day, so she doesn't have to know that something happened. I don't know then; she wasn't even here. So, you can see it as "oh man she's a traitor" or you can see it as "well she does have to look out for the whole school, and she has to look out for the Feds not coming in here and shutting it down (Interview, July 11th)."

Leo highlighted the point that educators grappled with. In addition to taking care of students' educators also needed to keep in mind the school and resources as a whole. Even when they answered these questions educators were mindful of what resources could be lost if the wrong people witnessed or heard of these actions. In another school in New York, Anthony navigated the same process, how to create more intentional policies when the existing policies can impact the livelihood of undocumented students. Anthony brings up an example of a student in the process of asylum who is living with a relative waiting for the court case. The unaccompanied youth moved to this country and expected to work to support his family back home, therefore he could not engage in school. As a result, district policy mandates that he get several calls home to address this situation.

> Lots of school policies are if you miss class, you get a robocall but then the student's advisor also calls and like I mean regardless of immigration status there are families that are like more supportive and able to help bring student back into engagement. But sometimes my calling the family can be more trouble (Interview, March 21st).

Anthony explained that in this case a call home, as a response to ditching school, would have exacerbated the situation. It may have led to impacting his asylum case or further impacting the relationship between the students and his temporary guardian.

> We also had a student that was cutting a lot and he was living with his aunt that's part of his placement applying for Asylum, some to accompany the minor. But the question is just like what to do in terms of normal school procedures with the students in that precarious position. Like certainly getting with trauma support and we don't want to just allow them to disengage with school but like coming home and telling an aunt who is like getting increasingly frustrated with him does not help. It's on something that was helpful, so I think having those kind of situations are a lot of why we are interested in restorative justice (Interview, March 21st).

Rather than calling home Anthony went to look for the student when he ditched class. He explained that this was certainly not allowed and in fact he only did it because he was aware of the student's situation.

> Actually like, a couple of students told me and my colleagues where he hangs out and we just went to find him and like get him to come back. I'm pretty sure we wouldn't have gone to all that effort if we weren't aware of what was happening with him and the stakes involved in his situation (Interview, March 21st).

Anthony's response was a negotiated policy he decided to take on in an effort to address another policy that did not keep in mind the situation immigrants and unaccompanied students face. Much like Julia and Leo, Anthony noted that his actions were against the rules and it could have gotten him in trouble.

Sanctuary

The last policy New York educators created were related to ICE presence on campus. While ICE is not encouraged to pick up undocumented people in sensitive locations, schools, hospitals, funerals, and wedding, there continue to be reports that ICE has picked up students after school or at their schools. As mentioned before the Chancellor in New York created a strict ICE policy on campus. However, educators in New York did not want to take the risk in case ICE is allowed on their campus. As a result, Leo shared that educators met in private in order to talk about what educators would do to protect their students from being kidnapped by ICE.

> We had a private meeting with the director of the school in her apartment we are near the school and we talked about what we're going to do what's the plan to protect the students and the teachers when the election happened what's going to happen when school starts again (Interview, July 11th).

Much like educators in Arizona, Leo met with the principal to informally talk about a plan that would need to happen in order to protect students. This was intentionally crafted by the principal in order to prevent the wrong people from finding out about the plan.

> They're all informal meetings that I've had but because the principal is very smart, she's never had a meeting about this with more than one person at a time, so she had both at a cafe. She's very good about this these things so yeah there's never been a meeting for say like an emergency plan, we haven't had one because I think that she's afraid of the things that may come up and who knows who's taking notes you open the room to allow more people and mistakes are made and so it's always been informal one-on-one here and there, on a need to know basis (Interview, July 11th).

Leo continued to expand that she identified several educators but none of the educators met together in the same room, instead the principal only had conversations with each educator individually.

> We never met together we never met formally together this happened in individual informal conversations with people that you trust that you know ,if it happens you have to pay the price yeah, we can have a meeting about this, we just kind of whispered in people's ears (Interview, July 11th).

I asked Leo how the principal was able to identify who was trustworthy. Leo shared that it was more of a gut feeling, it was the people who were willing to break some rules and advocate for students wholeheartedly.

> You kind of know who's who over the years and the people that are cool within the movement and the same people that the principal fights with every day you know and then it's important to choose them when it comes to this stuff (Interview, July 11th).

After each of these individual meetings Leo and the team identified a plan that could be implemented in the event that ICE was allowed entrance into the school and attempted to kidnap a student. The first step of the plan was precautionary, educators identified who are the most vulnerable families and confirmed that their contact info was accurate.

> We identified a plan to figure out which of the families are most vulnerable and we gave this list to the secretary to secure that the phone numbers that correspond to these families are still accurate because sometimes the family will change their telephone number or erase it. If an emergency happens and you call, no one picks up, it's the wrong numbers, that's the last thing we need (Interview, July 11th).

As Leo explained the next part of the plan, it should be noted that at this point he began to speak in Spanish to me. This was in an effort to further protect himself from the information he shared. Throughout this part of the interview Leo was clear that I needed to be particularly mindful about how I share this information.

> This is the moment in which I'm going to speak about things that could get me in trouble because I could be in some problems ...I told the principal about this if they somehow get into the school, and it's not just immigration but the police too...it's also it's important to inform the front desk in the lobby if they're there and that they would call the principal to say they want to come in and then we bring the student to them to the first floor that's the protocol (Interview, July 11th).

Leo explained this part of the protocol was to establish the current policy surrounding ICE warrants and undocumented students on high school campus. He then explained how he and other educators would intervene in an effort to protect the students.

> If they showed up at the school, immediately one of us, of the people who were in this meeting, would go to get the name of the student and then she would text me I would go to the classroom and get them out and then take them out and take them through the backdoor to seek sanctuary (Interview, July 11th).

It's this part of the negotiated policy that is technically illegal. By federal law this is considered harboring and transporting an undocumented immigrant and could result in jail. Leo went on to explain that he has identified connections in the community who can help the student get sanctuary.

> There's a group...they can help hide people and immediately I would call those folks, I know them personally and I shared if we could have the number or connection directly if for some reason, we would need to get someone out of the school in an emergency (Interview, July 11th).

While he explained tall of this Leo knew the consequences of these actions and that there was no way he or his colleagues wouldn't be identified in their attempt to protect their students.

> In case we got found out how we were going to deal with the consequences there's cameras everywhere, it's not like people wouldn't have known if immigration comes and they find out they're going to want to throw us under the bus. There are cameras, they are going to see who helped who did all of this to escape and so that's why it is something difficult, it dangerous, it scares me a lot but, in that moment...I don't know if that's the plan we did. So we have us, and some as an allies for the action and we have two or three more of teachers that are also down in cases like the ICE shows up we would be able to call them but that's like a five people plan, kind of like shit and that's it and luckily we haven't been able to use it yet (Interview, July 11th).

Analysis

While Leo and the group of educators were happy that they haven't had to use this plan to protect their students, they are aware that under The Trump administration this is a realty. Much like the other educators described in this chapter, Leo and his colleagues createdpolicy to address an unjust policy that implicated the lives and education of their students. It was their experience in understanding, interpreting, and shaping policy they negotiated underground policy initiatives in ways that current policy could not address. As Olivas (2011) states, laws and policy

play a heavy role but the implementation of policy can also happen in unintended ways. While some policies functioned in this way, others were quite intentional in the process. Educators worked to identify alternative ways to support their students. This labor is reminiscent of Das Gupta's (2006) work in which immigrant rights groups sought alternative ways to support their members who often navigated a myriad of human rights violations and abuses. Much like the "unruly immigrants" in her book, educators created alternative language and route to access the rights to rights of their students. Therefore, educators and other organizational actors must negotiate and create new norms through their policies and provide legitimacy for action (Bernhardt et al, 2016).

Summary of How All Three Themes Interact

In this chapter I explained the methods in which educators engaged with policy that impacts undocumented students. In particular the ways in which educators utilize policy as practice to interpret, appropriate, and negotiate policy in an effort to shift and create responsive and actionable policy. Educators first engaged in this process by developing their knowledge of policy. This was something that was more deeply addressed in the previous chapter. Educators through their roles of supporting undocumented students identified that they needed to know the nuances of policy in order to understand how it would impact their students. This became common practice because policy impacted the lives of undocumented students in different ways. It was through this knowledge acquisition that educators identified the ways in which policy targeted, impacted, and intersected with the lives of undocumented students. However, educators also took action and created policy that made attempts to protect undocumented students. At times action meant speaking out on the ways in which policy impacted undocumented students O'Connor and Mangual Figueroa (2017) noted the ways in which educator's choose to speak or remain silent. Indeed, the educators in this study where chosen because they have practiced some method of speaking up. This became all the more crucial with policies that restricted

undocumented students' access to higher education, disciplinary policies and ICE related protocols.

While some of these policy measure were formalized others were much more informal and some were kept on a need to know basis. However, while policy was created in order to support students it does not replace "juridico-civil rights," and the only way to truly provide a right to humanity is through true and intentional social membership and inclusion (Radoff, 2011a). In the next chapter I addressed how educators created networks to support undocumented students and advocate for the creation of these resources in their schools and in the state.

IN WHAT WAYS DO EDUCATORS CREATE NETWORKS OF SUPPORT CONSIDERING THE CONTEXT OF THEIR STATE, CITY, AND SCHOOL?

The last question I sought to answer was how do educators create networks of support considering the state context. As previous chapters noted, various policies are unique to each state and have impacted the ways in which educators were able to support undocumented students. While there were clear patterns and policies that span across each state, this study also sought to understand the differences between each state and the ways in which educators were able to cultivate resources for students. Each of the educators interviewed were a part of a network placing them in a unique position to provide resources to other educators and create an extensive networks in their schools. Indeed, in the first chapter educators explained that collaborative efforts amongst educators helped them develop a sense of empowerment which allowed them to create more resources and expand the knowledge of their colleagues. Therefore, this question seeks to answer the ways in which networks were cultivated and the impact the state contexts has on these efforts. Networks were a necessary dynamic to center in this study because the discussion of policy, talk, action allowed individuals to understand the power of policy (Allan, Iverson, & Ropers-Huilman, 2010). Educator's membership in these networks created cultural and relational factors that must be taken into consideration when understanding the impact of these factors (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991).

This section also incorporated the comparative approach in an effort to allow policy and networks to communicate and create meaning between each other. As I presented in the literature review, the context of each state differs greatly, therefore we must address the experiences of undocumented students with this lens. Moreover, as we situated the schools within the state and the networks within the schools there are multiple competing powers that manifest in this context (Barnhardt, Reyes, Vidal Rodriguez, and Ramos, 2016).

Throughout this study it was clear that educators' roles were created via informal methods and asks. Gabriela and Leo, a counselor in Arizona and manager in New York, best encapsulated these experiences by noting the ways in which students and their families identified them as resources. Gabriela's experience primarily focused on her experience supporting Spanish speaking families and identifying her as the only Spanish speaking staff member through word of mouth.

> They would say "I'm looking for Juanita" and "Michael's mother told me that you can help me with this or that…" having been doing this for a couple of years I think people remember me and also because I have, I guess people have noticed, because I speak Spanish (Interview, March 9th).

Similarly, Leo in New York also shared that parents identified him by way of other parents and reached out to him when they needed resources. When parents, new to the school or building, visited the school they would call Leo to help them come into the building, especially when they were asked for ID.

> Parents they just turn around and call me on my cell and say, "hey I'm downstairs but I don't have an ID," anybody can come in with a staff employee even if you don't have ID (Interview, July 11th).

In similar ways educators across New York and Arizona took on informal roles to support undocumented students and their families. However, it became clear that networks are needed in an effort to truly meet the promise of *Plyler v Doe* and provide an equitable education to all students regardless of immigration status. Therefore, educators created networks to support

themselves and advocate for students. As I explained throughout this study the cultivation of these networks looked different across the political context of the state.

State Context Influence on Networks

In this section I will cover the state context as a factor on networks. As the next section dissects the impact of state keep in mind that the label and designation of students in policy can place them outside of the traditional protection of civil rights (Olivas and Bowman, 2011). In the case of Arizona and New York, the designation of undocumented student places students outside of the traditional protection and into an avenue that is vulnerable to anti-immigrant rhetoric. In Arizona educators noted that it was always a process of learning and keeping up-to-date with the changes in policy and their impact. When asked about the context of Arizona and how it impacts undocumented students Kelly identified that working in Arizona meant that policies will always keep changing.

> I feel like there's a constant gathering of information that you have to find out what's new, what's out there, and the politics and the laws and the rules keep changing and so it affects it. So, it's a constant need to stay engaged and educated about what is available (Interview, March 17th).

Indeed, as I mentioned before, in the time in which I began writing this dissertation in-state tuition for DACA students was removed and brought back. However, an interesting similarity between Arizona and New York is that both states have progressive cities with conversate state legislature. Julia in Arizona highlighted this by identifying the way in which upstate politics impacts students.

> Compared to the rest of the state of Arizona [the city] is different...and so I think that the increase in concerns for people have to do with the in-state policies... for the past two years and of course regarding federal decisions (Interview, February 17th).

Judy in New York acknowledged the differences between city politics and state politics can ultimately impact resources. Educators in New York also acknowledged the differences between the city and the state. However, in New York educators highlighted that the progressiveness of the city allowed them to get engage more with different spaces and resources.

> Upstate politics which is a huge influence in [the city], students had to experience the DREAM Act not being passed and students not being able to pay for college (Interview, March 2nd).

Anthony provided the New York Dream Act as an example of how upstate politics can impact even the most progressive cities, as it was a New York State majority that did not vote in favor of the New York Dream Act. Similarly, to Arizona, New York politics are also shifting . In the time that I began writing this dissertation New York has passed the New York State Dream Act and New York drivers licenses for all undocumented people. Therefore, both states require educators to stay informed about policies to support undocumented students. However, the context of the state is more than the policies that are enacted. Rather, educators had to practice very particular methods to create networks in their states – methods that are meant to keep resources, educators, and students safe. With context in mind educators created networks that relied on the following patterns: identifying allies, creating sustainability, and student involvement.

Theme #1 Identify Allies by Navigating Free Speech

Arizona: Hesitancy Allyship

With the political context of Arizona in mind, educators explored creative ways to identify allies and establish networks of support in order to fulfill their role as educators for undocumented students. As mentioned before centering networks allows us to view organizations as a unit-of-analysis (Barnhardt, Reyes, Vidal Rodriguez, and Ramos, 2016). With this in mind we can deconstruct how providing support and allyship on a contested issue intersects with organizational functions.

With regards to Arizona, many instances educators expressed hesitancy in identifying allies because they were concerned about self-identifying as allies in and outside of their schools. Julia, the higher education admin in one district, noted the difficultly and cautiousness she exhibited when working to identify allies in her school. In any school setting she took the first step and provided resources for educators and provided other educators an opportunity to reach

out to her for more resources and express their interests in better supporting undocumented students in the state.

> A colleague who works with us at our local Community College, very very closely, and I had a candid conversation, she led a meeting with our school counselors on a variety of different topics but we all knew [resources for undocumented students] was going to come up and so she says as much as she was comfortable saying knowing that I was going to follow up with school counselors a little more into the meeting. Perhaps another conversation that might be in place and why we're deliberately evasive about directly answering some of the questions that were asked (Interview, February 17th).

Julia made the point that even in these meetings and workshops, she was careful to only answer the questions as much as was needed and any explicit answers would come from one-on-one private conversations. I asked Julia for her reasoning in only sharing more nuanced details in private meetings. Julia explained that this was in an effort to protect the resources from people who are not supportive of undocumented students.

> I am more conscious right now making public statements unless I either am making casual topic statement. I am more than willing to make public statements when it's appropriate, but I see no reason to casually make statements in a room with people that I don't know where personal sentiments are because there's just there's no reason to be purposeful in my opinion because it only hurts our students (Interview, February 17th).

Julia's point was echoed in previous chapter which explained that previous board members of school districts in Arizona have explicitly said they do not support undocumented students in K-12 school. While this sentiment was a clear violation of *Plyler v Doe*, Julia acknowledged that the immediate implication of these sentiments can remove much needed resources from the hands of undocumented students in the school and in the state. However, despite these individuals, and at times district wide sentiment, Julia continued to acknowledge that schools can serve as a supportive space for undocumented students and a space to identify allies.

> School districts tend to be more supportive of non-resident students than people in other areas of work, perhaps, and so I think sometimes we make the mistake that the majority is the entire population (Interview, February 17th).

While this is a valid sentiment, the power of those who are in disagreement impacted how others show up to support students. Later in this chapter I expanded on this point through the experience of educators who navigate anti-immigrant principals and administrative staff. In Julia's case, she

identified these anti-immigrant sentiments and noticed a pattern of educators who found creative solutions for undocumented students and those that did not.

> I think one person in particular who I really have no idea what her own personal feelings were but when I would ask her for help the answer was so simple "there's nothing we can do," so you begin to find out who are the people that you can go to who are the people you cannot or who are the people who are helpful and who are the people who are not (Interview, February 17th).

This practice allowed Julia to identify those who were eager to support all students regardless of status. In line with these sentiments, I asked Julia what exactly made her, and others feel hesitant to declare their allyship for undocumented students in public settings. Julia answered this question by expanding on her point of who could be in the room.

> Six or seven years ago, it was fairly right after proposition 305, a school counselor was giving the number of someone who was helping undocumented students in a public meeting and...I think anxiety wasn't as high but again I don't want anybody to be put in a position where publicly someone stands up well just tell them to go to so-and-so, 'cause you never know who's going to be in the room and that did happen at one point many years ago several years ago (Interview, February 17th).

In this statement Julia made the point of highlighting that even when the state explicitly votes against undocumented students receiving in-state tuition, anxiety was not as high. However, Julia explained that the current climate brought on by the presidential election resulted in higher levels of anxiety from educators outing themselves as allies. Feelings of stress and anxiety were elevated with the state context, federal regulations and institutional responsibilities in mind, which often place in-state tuition under attack (Romero, 2002; Olivas, 2011; Gildersleeve and Hernandez, 2012). Despite Arizona producing some of the most heinous anti-immigrant legislation, she expressed that the policy coming from the Trump administration has made it more explicit.

> The level of anxiety over people willing to be helpful and concerned about outing people who are advocates is higher perhaps right now than it has been at any time in my professional career (Interview, February 17th).

Other educators expressed similar hesitancy to speak up because of the current political climate. Becky, the teacher in the same school district, described her hesitancy to speak up about her perspective because of how the school communicated their policy on politics.

> I do believe there is [a policy], I don't know what it is, we've even been informed during election time to not talk about our personal beliefs or who we are voting for because students can be impressionable and so I don't know the exact place it is but there some statements somewhere that says what are the parameters (Interview, February 10th).

Becky described a vague idea of what the district determined educators can and can't say about their personal beliefs in schools. While she described it as an unclear idea about politics, she also made note that the principal sent an email about what educators can and can't say.

> The email that the principal sent, but you know there was an email sent out to not discuss our political plans, who are voting for, all that kind of stuff during the election (Interview, February 10th).

Jessica, the counselor in this school district also explained that these communications made educators feel uncomfortable about speaking up and supporting undocumented students in schools.

> The staff, they're very uncomfortable vocalizing their opinion because the principal was there and she was not supportive, so it is not a very good climate at the time to do this (Interview, March 10th).

In this explanation Jessica talked about the presentation she provided to educators to talk about undocumented student resources at the high school. Similar to Julia, Jessica identified educators when they came forward to ask more questions or express their support for undocumented students.

> After the presentation a lot of folks came forward in private to talk about it and I think that's how we were able to assess the kind of support at the school and figure out what people and who wanted to collaborate with this issue (Interview, February 17th).

While other districts in Arizona felt more welcoming, these same educators also expressed that the anti-immigrant and anti-undocumented sentiment existed and had impacted resource acquisition for educators. Kelly, a teacher in another district explained that while she felt supported in her work, she understood that other districts were not the same.

> In my school district, I feel that the school district is very supportive about it, but you know there may be other school districts in Arizona where they don't feel that level of support or the level of comfort being that open about how they feel about this (Interview, March 17th).

The varying messaged of support across districts resulted in very different iterations of networks across schools. While some took on structure and consistency others were more informal in nature.

After educators identified allies, they shared resources in the form of networks across Arizona. In one part of the district educators, Jessica, Becky, and Gabriela created a structured network of educators to share resources. It was structured intentionally in order to provide resources and support across all aspects on the educational experience. Becky explained that the educators involved expanded a diverse range of fields.

> Diverse group of teachers so we did have another Spanish teacher you know the assistant principal was involved the secretary of the school was involved and [a counselor and educator from the university] (Interview, February 10th).

Jessica echoed why it was necessary that the educators came from different departments on campus.

> I made it apparent that we had a pool with supportive educators at the school. I started reaching out to them and be a part of this committee so wanted to go to make sure the committee was very diverse so all areas of the school or in some way going to have this information and know what to do with it and they can share with their colleagues so we were able to get the vice principle involved, I was considered a counselor, and we had the office manager, who was in contact with a lot of parents so it's very important and then we also had a teacher involved so we were trying to make it as diverse as possible to have all the information (Interview, March 10th).

Jessica communicated that it was important for all aspects on the campus to be involved in order to communicate to the campus that these resources existed and to further educate the rest of the school about the resources. While this was communicated through departments, it was further amplified when each educator helped to create resources that were visible on campus.

> The framework that better supported students access to higher education or resources in general sometimes our resources that they needed were legal resources and we provide them with someone they could reach out to and if they know other students to connect them with me or someone else I think that was the best thing about the committee was we

> build a network the whole campus knew we existed so they would receive a more educated support about all these things (Interview, March 10th).

It was this visibility that was an critical step in creating a network of educators. Several educators have spoken about their hesitancy to make their roles more visible on campus. However, Jessica made a point to highlight the importance of visibility in this kind of work, in an effort to communicate that this issue must be addressed.

> It affected the climate of the school because of these networks, there's been basically two groups created, basically it provided kind of like a message to the entire campus that there were folks who support undocumented students and those who aren't supportive...and so if you're not in line with these goals, and I think students are able to see who's who, and it did help the shift the climate of your of the school (Interview, March 10th).

The visibility on campus remained even after Jessica and Becky transitioned to other roles outside of this campus. However, Gabriela remained in the school and was able to continue to set up the network presence. She decided to continue the framework of the network in order to further support students.

> I partnered with another employee from the University that was with us for about two years and because she spoke Spanish, she's a Hispanic as well, she was focusing on students who go to college (Interview, March 9th).

While this district focused on creating formal networks, educators in another district in Arizona set up informal ways of supporting each other. For example, Julia identified one educator who could gather information and share it at professional development meetings. However, she highlighted that knowing this information was considered a necessary goal of the school and of the educators.

> I don't want to make it sound like it's a committee and only those people are involved I'm saying that it is a part of who we are as a school system in our school culture in our schools, not every counselor will be attending every meeting of this organization and there are other included staff but we were conscious of making sure we had one representative at trainings (Interview, February 17th).

This representative would then share with the rest the information with everyone in regular department meetings. While it was generally a supportive climate for undocumented students and

allies, Julia highlighted that there were still folks who were anti-immigrant and needed to be kept in mind when they shared resources.

> In regular department meetings they would share, in counseling meetings, not every teacher needs to know every detail but I think our school administrators are quite conscious also of the population we serve and so I know that there are elements and accusations with a few people who are politically not in the majority and so we ask for folks to be sensitive to those people (Interview, February 17th).

However, Julia saw the role of their network to create a communication system that allowed her team to respond to potentially problematic actions in other spaces. Julia described an instance in which correspondence was sent from the community college to high schools' students. The correspondence ultimately impacted whether undocumented students felt safe enrolling in community colleges. Julia's connection to the network allowed her to identify that problem and respond to it as an administrator.

> I had a teacher email me and say hey our students are receiving this at their home what is this and why are they getting this. So we were not systemically told at all and so they got a very nice email, [I'm being sarcastic] from me saying that you should have told us which was not helpful whatsoever and I had to circle back to teachers to say at this point we just have to let students know that even if they're asked to go give their social security number or whatever you don't need to do that (Interview, February 17th).

This point echoed Jessica, Becky, and Gabriela's point of to have a diverse set of educators and departments represented in the network. Additionally, the creation of this informal network also allowed for a space of mentorship and resources for educators eager to learn more. Kelly, and educator in this district was mentored by Julia. This connection allowed her to grow as an educator and as an advocate.

> She kind of has been like my mentor in the district because I transitioned from the military background in education and that was kind of a difficult transition in some respects. The school system and how it works is so much so far away from how the military network works that it was there was some rough patches and she kind of mentored me through some of those things we had a mentorship relationship (Interview, February 17th).

While access to the network provided Kelly with much needed mentorship, it also allowed her the opportunity to connect to more resources and organizations that could support her role as an ally.

> I have that network of people that you can reach out to, like an organization that you can be in contact with, you can contact that person or say here let me help you or talk to you about this and so it is a way of facilitating, it is a way to help students whether you are not or are able to keep up with what's changing all the time or what schools are doing all the time (Interview, March 17th).

Ultimately these resources translated into support systems for undocumented students in her schools. The trainings she attended gave her the tools to communicate to students the ways in which she can support their learning and resource acquisition.

> So, through this network I've been trained to support undocumented students. And so, there was this flyer you could put up that could communicate to students in a visual way that they could ask questions you could see that you were willing to help people you willing to support them with that idea (Interview, March 17th).

A take away from these conversations was not one district or school had a way in which they created networks, even over the time the networks shifted to allow other educators to enter and provide more support. However, it cannot go without notice that the context of the state impacted the way in which educators were able to identify allies and create networks. This becomes more clear when we look at the way the political context of New York allows for educators to expand their roles and networks into state politics and not vice versa.

New York : Expected Allyship

While in Arizona educators were careful of whether they identified as allies, in New York educators were expected to self-identify as allies. Whether through student led programming or educator led workshops, there were several opportunities were educators were encouraged to self-identify as allies. Ruth, a teacher in one district explained that they identified allies by creating programming where they could self-identify through pictures or wristbands.

> So they made posters of "no borders no walls," "no papers no problem," "no human being is illegal," and instead of hanging them up they had students and staff holes in the poster, and take a picture of the peers and then hang the photos of people holding them all around the school (Interview, April 5th).

Ruth described this as an effort by students and staff to show that the school was supportive of undocumented students. Another way they communicated this was through symbols in their classroom to show students that they supported them.

> We use the "migration is beautiful" sticker we meet at this is a safer space for undocumented students and we're here to talk to you we're here for you and then I'll talk to my staff and everybody that's ready has put it in the classroom just like put it on the door to say I'm here for you. But that's not enough to build confidence, it starts with a resolution to your students (Interview, April 5th).

However, while educators identified allies that could support them in public and in actionable ways, educators also identified entities who could impact students but are not considered allies. Leo pointed to junior cops as a program made up of individuals that were not so progressive but ultimately hindered undocumented students' experience.

> Junior cops, so they're pretty good I keep a very tight relationship with them, not to say that they're bad to our students. I don't think so, but they're not they're not super super progressive they're doing their job and they don't want lose their job to have their orders (Interview, April 5th).

It's vital to identify these individuals because it is a responsibility that educators take on and they have to meet it with action. This ties into another point by Anthony a teacher in another district in New York. While self-identification contrasted with Arizona's hesitancy to identify, that did not mean that there still isn't a lot of work to be done to support undocumented students.

> Teachers who see themselves as doing the right thing that's probably a big deal, but I'm sure there are barriers around teachers not being self-critical and not pushing themselves to be better (Interview, March 21st).

Indeed, Anthony hit on an important point surrounding the power of the political context of New York. While educators were generally supportive of undocumented students, actions must follow that level of support. In the following examples I elaborated on the ways in which educators do better to support undocumented students. While it is important to compare these contexts to Arizona, it is also important to understand that these educators were a small example of going above the norm to truly advocate for undocumented students by creating a support network. Indeed, context plays a significant role in determining the extend in which educators can speak up about undocumented students' rights and follow up with action.

Comparing both States

Much like educators in Arizona, speech and the ability to speak up impacted the ways in which staff was able to advocate with and for undocumented students. Ruth an educator in one

district of New York talked about the ways in which they openly spoke about resources available for undocumented students, and the importance of educators speaking up first.

> I cannot remember a time where students have ever disclosed in the class and maybe like years later the student will talk to me about it, but it's when students talk about different experiences. So, I share resources and then students will ask "can I please have that scholarship information," I never say no to you I say, "yes please take it," I share it for everybody including citizens (Interview, April 5th).

Ruth talked about sharing these resources in the classroom and other public spaces in order to make the issue more visible. Leo, an educator in the same school also enacted similar practices in order to make support more visible for undocumented students.

> At the next PTA, …I put a flyer in their hand out for the PTA meeting and say hey the social worker will be there, a lawyer will be there, to answer questions about immigration I don't know if you do need at that kind of support but if you do or anybody else have any questions very small or very serious ones we provide trusted immigration lawyers that get paid from their law firms and it's pro bono and I explain what pro bono means …half the time they just take it and they some of the time they seem very interested in they share some of their problems. Moms and dads, some of them tell me everything so that's like right off the bat (Interview, July11th).

Much like Ruth, Leo included information for undocumented families in rooms where he is not sure there will be undocumented families. Both of these practices allowed for the information to be normalized in the school and for everyone to be knowledgeable about the resources including citizens. Much like the butterfly stickers described above, Ruth also shared and encouraged students to vocalize their support through visual ways.

> Students in all of my classes are all wearing a bracelet it says "no human being is illegal" so all the teachers all the students everybody's in the purple bracelets...it's really beautiful you seen me wearing it, they might not even know that I was the teacher in charge of the [dream team] club (Interview, July11th).

These were both subtle and visible ways to demonstrate support for undocumented students. Everyone could wear this; students knew what it said, and it communicated support for undocumented students. As this study has shown, Ruth's and Leo's work supported undocumented students was not a secret. They both expressed support very visibly and were very public about it, which encouraged others to also participate. I asked both of the educators about the ways in which the state politics and policy influence how they support undocumented students

Ruth's response was sure and unwavering – this is a right for undocumented students and as an educator that is part of their role to defend that right.

> I don't let the political situation change the way I view or think about supporting students and I don't have a problem saying well I'm going to support and I'm going to help these students because I think it's the right thing to do but there are other communities that are not as maybe not as confident to have a kind of stands (Interview, April 5th).

Moreover, Ruth highlighted the importance of educators understanding the political context in order to respond accordingly without practicing "status-blind" rhetoric or ignoring the experience undocumented students face.

> Teachers could hide behind the idea that teachers are apolitical, which I think is nonsense, you just can't win the school. I just can't imagine that there's anyone like even in near a Republican ideology here. You can't work in my school and have that ideology. (Interview, April 5th).

Ruth comments communicated that educators are expected to support undocumented students and advocated for them, in line with *Plyler v Doe* legislation that dictates all students regardless of immigration status much receive and equitable education. While there is a strong support and communication to advocate for undocumented students, as the previous chapter explained, any resource regarding deportation defense was ultimately shared on a need to know basis in order to protect students and educators. Indeed, while Leo shared the ways in which he is vocal about undocumented student support systems, when he shared resources related to deportation defense with me, he began speaking in Spanish in order to further mask his participation in this study. In Spanish he said:

> This is the moment in which I'm going to speak about things that could get me in trouble because there could be some problems (Interview, March 11th).

While educators felt supported by the school environment and by resources allotted to them, there was still a clear hesitancy in the way in which the state supports educators. Another connecting experience between Arizona and New York was the 2016 presidential election. As noted, before once the Trump was announced as president students in Arizona expressed concern over their safety. Additionally, emails were sent to educators about expressing their political views and

communicating what they felt. This vague messaging created a sense of anxiety among Arizona educators. However, New York educators experienced this very differently. Angie, a teacher in another district explained that educators began speaking up more about their political views after the election.

> Our last election, I kind of shifted a lot of the conversation when a lot of our teachers started to share their own personal views and politics more freely than before, so most of our teacher started sharing their own personal experiences with immigration and that sort of brought awareness (Interview, June 18th).

Angie described how the election and the subsequent conversations also brought out these conversation into a public space and into official meetings.

> I think we're starting to as a community become more open about talking or discussions even down to specific internal communication which I think is huge because it's more closed off too, like we have a club and they tend to do things but now we're starting to talk about that in departmental meetings (Interview, June 18th).

Anthony another educator in this same district echoed Angie's point on speaking up about this issue in public ways.

> I think it's because this is a job for so many Educators, it's such an invisible issue I think just so many Educators doing this work that don't consider this part of the responsibility to think about and yeah, I just think we have to hold ourselves to higher standards in that (Interview, March 21st).

Anthony's point highlighted that as more educators hear about these issues and their responsibility, educators can begin to engage and educate themselves more intentionally. Judy, another educator in this district expands on Anthony and Angie's point by highlighting the importance of making this issue visible at the city and state level.

> It's not happening formerly in schools across the city and it's also just a lot of extra labor on our part in terms of figuring out how to get to those resources and what to do and whatever so you know of course, of course there can be a formalized position and then it doesn't actually happen and it's just a name only but on some level I think it's the first step of making sure that there's more equitable access for immigrants used across the city to the resources of the city (Interview, March 21st).

Judy points to a formalized role for an immigrant liaison who can organize resources for undocumented students and immigrant students in schools. This was a driving point in the educator's network.

Analysis

When comparing both states it was clear that their methods of creating networks were impacted the socio political context of the state and the schools they were situated. In line with Barlett and Vavrus (2006), we can see that an understanding of the context allowed the research to keep in mind ways in which practices must differ. With regards to allyship, educators in Arizona often experienced more hesitancy to out themselves. This was because educators were cautious about their resources or because they were mindful of the vulnerability of their positions. The blatant anti-immigrant sentiment in the state contributed to this sense of hesitancy and anxiety. Despite these contextual setback educators were able to create a network and created visibility to identify more allies. Conversely New York Educators were expected to self-identify. School and city culture created a space where educators were expected to support undocumented students. Indeed, this allowed educators to expand their allyship into city and statewide initiatives such as an immigrant liaison position and ICE out of school initiative. This further highlighted the importance of educators knowing and understanding the impact of the political context of their state. This call for ecological validity (Crossley's Vullimany, 1984) allowed educators to intersect their educational spaces within contextual factors.

Theme 2: Creating Sustainability via Networks

As shown above educators worked together and developed resources for undocumented student in their schools, in a sustainable way. Educators identified that they included and incorporated other spaces to provide more resources and prevent over exhaustion. They incorporated these unique structures and resources to this study. It is imperative to understand how organizations such as networks and schools created sustainable support systems (McAdam and Scott, 2005). More so, comparing the differences in each state and how these factors vary is

necessary to develop a full understanding of how these organization function. Additionally, these resources were shared across a network of educators through formal and informal means. Despite these efforts, a common theme that emerged was educators concern about the sustainability of the network and the resources created. As explained before educators identified their roles as an informal part of their job. This was not because educators did not value the work as intrinsic to their roles, but rather, because the school excluded undocumented students from the general population of students. This meant that any resources that educators cultivated and formalized for undocumented students were neither paid nor prioritized.

Sustainability in Arizona

As educators shared their roles and experiences creating networks, sustainability became a necessary component of the work in order to make sure that resources continued to exist in schools. Educators described this focus as an integral part of their work in order to lessen their own workload and make sure that resources can exist after they have left.

In Arizona some educators were already acknowledging their temporary roles within the school and created sustainability efforts to prevent resources from disappearing once they leave. Jessica, a counselor in one district in Arizona acknowledged this.

> I was only going to be there for two years so I was very worried that I would do all this work and the next person would come in and there wouldn't be anything left when I left (Interview, March 10th).

To the point made in previous chapters educators found it necessary to create a network in order to support other educators and share necessary resources. Jessica explained that creating a network and creating sustainability went hand in hand.

> You can't do this alone if I continue this by myself, I'm just kind of holding captive all the resources that I had developed for students and not pass it on or give credit or ask people to come in as support I don't think it would have been as successful (Interview, March 10th).

Jessica's brought up several ways in which a network of educators required sustainability. There was a necessary point that without sustainability in mind educators would be gatekeeping resources from students and other educators and not allowing for others to help inform resources

and practices. However, while sustainability was certainly something educators kept in mind it was difficult to create time that would allow for more sustainable practices. For example, Gabriela described that she was low on time when she kept in mind the responsibilities of her official job title.

> I still need help...I would love to go to every classroom and say who we are and what we do, you know, but of course I have to be very careful because I have to do my job (Interview, March 10th).

Gabriela referred to her job as the role she was hired to do, which did not formally include helping to facilitate the student club or sharing undocumented student resources with educators on campus. When educators described the ways in which they balanced multiple roles, I asked the role that higher administrative staff had when supporting their work with undocumented students. Unfortunately, there were few examples in which higher administrative staff helped educators navigate multiple roles. Gabriela noted that although the Vice Principal and Principal supported her work, they did not support her limited time and resources.

> He supports this work...at that time, when the group first started, I would take lunch for an hour, but now I take can it [end of day] because I'm working with students and the group. So, the principle lets me do that. That is a kind of support he has provided (Interview, March 10th).

Although the principal is accommodating of the group she works with, it does not seem that the principal provided opportunities for Gabriela to still take her lunch and eat and work with students, rather she has to pick one of the two. This ultimately did not lessen the Gabriela's responsibilities or accommodated the multiple roles she is taking on. Higher administrative staff who participated in this study would often utilize financial priority as a way to support sustainability efforts by other educators. Julia, a higher administrative educator in another district, would financially prioritize professional development related to undocumented student services, in order to provide educators with more knowledge and resources.

> I'm trying to make sure that our school counselors and other individuals were interested or able to participate in professional learning regarding the needs of non-resident students across the board and that might be immigrant students from many many different places

> as well as DACA and undocumented students so professional learning is very important (Interview, February 17th).

Julia's role in the school allowed for her to leverage her budget and her position to place educators in spaces of professional learning. Additionally, Julia also financially prioritized hiring roles that would lessen the burden of educators at her school. One example, which we presented before, is hiring private public safety officers. This allowed her to train them in the best way to support students and prevent additional burden on educators who may help disrupt fights if they involved undocumented students. While in Arizona, educators acknowledged that their responsibilities to undocumented students were not formalized in the position and would refer to ways in which they wanted to create sustainability. However, they rarely talked about ways in which they could be compensated for their time and labor and there were few examples of administrative staff that implemented effort to financially prioritize resources for educators.

Sustainability in New York

Educators in New York talked brought up similar concerns about sustainability, and often referenced ways in which they were no longer able to continue their roles because of lack of compensation. However, educators in New York were able to organize and begin discussing ways in which they received compensation for their additional labor.

Leo, a manager in one district was the most upfront about low compensation and resources for him. In fact, he was provided with little support and financial priority that he was now leaving his current position to be paid more at another school.

> I don't hate my job, I hate the pay, but the job is pretty good. But I am moving on from this place this is my last year, yeah, I have a family and the pay is not like enough (Interview, July 11th).

As Leo shared before, he is the primary contact recently arrived students and often intervened when students fight in order to prevent undocumented students from being reported to the police. It is clear that his work is necessary at this school, but he will be leaving because he can no longer afford to work in the school. However, even when he negotiated his own career Leo was thinking about the sustainability of his role.

> Now, I'm going to find my own replacement and I want to find somebody who can do this work with those kind of connections from my networks but if I can get that immigration legal service office before, I leave it'll be awesome (Interview, July 11th).

Leo understood the nature of his work and he worked to expand the position into a role where someone will be able to answer legal questions.

> I want to leave and that they migration support, so I'm working with some lawyers now to try and have this role at the school. An in-school immigration legal office which would service the whole campus and it would be in the basement we do have an empty office in the basement that belongs to the high school, and lawyers come with their own money we don't have to pay them to do service we just got a couple first-year immigration law students it is not meant to be full-time it can be 3 days a week. We want to have a lawyer on site we have three social emotional experts it would be nice to have an immigration lawyer I'm actually working on that now (Interview, July 11th).

Leo's experience working with undocumented youth and families has allowed him to identify what students and educators need the most support on and the biggest gap that would arise once he leaves. Moreover, Leo also recognized that once he leaves it will add undue burden onto Ruth, the other educator that is work with him to support undocumented students.

> I think Ruth is going to be very busy I don't want to leave them like that if we consider this legal resource office that would be awesome if not and whoever takes my job will have to incorporate this immigration support into their day (Interview, July 11th).

With Leo gone, Ruth will become the only go-to person for these concerns, adding additional stress to Ruth and lack of support for students. While Leo kept in mind sustainability by creating a new role, that labor also came from his personal time and not accounted for by the school, his concern is to make sure students are still being supported by their schools. Ruth echoed these concerns when they mentioned that there is no accountability by the school to support educators as they support undocumented students.

> The school cultivates conversations on how to support undocumented students but there is no actual policy on who provides those resources how is it being provided it seems like that loophole is creating additional unpaid labor on to folks that are already overworked (Interview, April 5th).

Ruth referred to themselves and Leo, who continue to provide unpaid labor on behalf of the school to support undocumented students. What must be highlighted about Ruth and Leo's experience was that the school primarily works with immigrant and recently arrived students,

meaning their staff is more aware and in tune with the experiences of undocumented students – as I stated in previous chapters. However, there were no policies in place to formalize support for undocumented students. Ruth also identified that this work, despite being unpaid, is often done because educators are personally passionate about it.

> I think sometimes about this capacity issue. There was a teacher who I asked to be a dream team facilitator this year because Leo and I thought it would be great...she said you know I just don't have the capacity to do that right now so I think there is a when there's interested people who don't have the capacity for it. That's alright with me right now. You know there's all the hours that we spend leading the network...and then there's the hours outside right, and I'm doing it because I'm passionate (Interview, April 5th).

Indeed, as educators shared their work to support undocumented students, they often referenced their passion for the work they do and their passion to help undocumented students.

Max, a teacher in another district, described similar experiences related to admin support and financial advocacy. When he started teaching Max worked with undocumented students. He decided that the best way to advocate for student and connect them with resources was to create an advisory group made up of only undocumented students. He received approval from his school and his advisory class consisted of only undocumented students' whim he worked with very closely. While every teacher had an advisory class period in which students were assigned to teachers and provided with college resources, Max's group was much smaller and required other teachers to take on more students than usual. Ultimately, Max discontinued this work because it was placing additional burdens on educators.

> All those other students have to go into other classes, and I didn't feel that was fair to get other teacher's you know what I mean? You know they are my colleagues; I think the school would have done it, but I just think probably my colleagues would have done it too, but I just don't think that's fair (Interview, March 2nd).

Max explained that the program was successful, and students were connected with lawyers, and catered resources. Max was allowed to cater to undocumented students with resources he was already connected to.

> I feel supported by the school, I do feel supported by my school it's just I wasn't feeling supported in terms of logistically having my own smaller group of students that I can focus on as important as you know what I mean (Interview, May 5th).

As Max stated, it was important that he was supported logistically. Unfortunately, the school could not accommodate Max's initiative in a way that was fair to all educators. Even after this group Max continued to work with undocumented students and was identified as the point-person for undocumented student support. However, within a few years of this work Max decided that he could no longer take part in this work.

> I think I kind of let go a little bit. When I did have that Advisory Board, I saw that you know the amount of effort it takes to do. Well I wasn't seeing the results that I wanted you know what I mean I wasn't seeing enough payoff for like the time and toll it takes -- the emotional toll it takes you know that, it's roller coaster with those kids (Interview, May 5th).

Early on in his work, Max acknowledged another sustainability issue he experiences – the emotional labor that this work takes. Max was working with undocumented students who did not have a pathway to citizenship before DACA existed. His role as their advisor and informal point person involved working closely with undocumented students. It often entailed explaining to students that they do not qualify for certain opportunities or explaining that there is no pathway to citizenship for them.

> I think emotionally is the toughest one when there's no good options that's just heartbreaking to see failure, really, to see drawn-out failure. To see students working for an uncertain future it's tough for me (Interview, May 5th).

Max highlighted the emotional labor that this work entails. As noted by Leo, educators did this unpaid, informal, and often contentious work because they were passionate and understand that it is a necessary component of the work schools and districts fail to provide. Therefore, the emotional investment can be particularly high for educators as they work with students and hope for the best. Max kept in mind is personal sustainability and capacity and decide to step away from this kind of work. However, because this was necessary and difficult work another educator had to take on the responsibilities he was no longer taking on.

> I had more of a role earlier at the beginning of the school like I would spearhead presentations and get lawyers to come to the school, but Judy does that now ...you know the teacher at the school the point person for the Dream Team and they do a lot of advocacy and events to plan a lot of events (Interview, May 5th).

Indeed, Judy talked about her role and the way in which she supported undocumented students at her school after Max stepped away from this work. What Max started with this work, Judy and the students took on the mantel and expanded the much needed support systems for undocumented students. While Judy created a vast network of educators in and outside of the school, she recognized that there are still gaps that create little opportunity for capacity building and sustainability.

> We have a team of a hundred teachers at our school, because I've been working there long enough, I know almost every teacher in the building everyone knows that I do this work so when people have questions they contact me, that's cool but that doesn't necessarily build capacity so I haven't done that recently (Interview, March 2nd).

In an effort to address the issue of sustainability Judy and other educators organized resources in an effort to share them with other spaces and connect them with students.

> We decided to try and turn those resources into a website and that's basically how [our network] became a working group so now we are a separate group doing this work we have been meeting for once a month for 6 years we did a website which now we're trying to update because it looks like it was made in the 90s (Interview, March 2nd).

While Judy's comment was made as a joke it does speak to the capacity educators have to create, share, resources, and build capacity. She mentioned later that they are getting help in revamping the website from someone who is familiar with coding and has time to build the website into something more accessible and presentable. Judy explained the rest of the work she took on in the school in order to create more sustainability.

> There's also a lot of other things that I'm trying to do at our school, so you know there's a lot of stuff that our team is doing on supporting English Language Learners (ELLS) and translanguaging and stuff like that, I'm also part of a team of teachers that's trying to do professional development work and stuff like that on culturally responsive education and of course all of it is connected do you know there's never enough time (Interview, March 2nd).

Judy's point connected to what other educators have alluded to. They all have other responsibilities and work that they need to do. While some of these things can overlap and connect with students, supporting undocumented students was not taken into consideration by the school when determining workload and capacity. Therefore, it is up to the educators to create

sustainability work. While Judy explained the additional work, she took on supporting undocumented students, she made note that she has just begun getting paid for the work she is doing to support undocumented students.

> My work with the Dream Team is now formal so I get paid per session because it's an after-school club it's like an hour per session a week also kind of like other club administrators but kind of, just because I volunteered to do it (Interview, March 2nd).

However, this is only a recent change from how this work has been treated. Angie, another educator who worked with Judy to advise the Dream Team explained that this is a much needed change in the way administrators don't financially prioritize this work.

> Both advisers didn't get paid for it, but they had enough to only pay one person per session so they would alternate every week. One would punch in and then the next week [the other]. Now both of us get paid for the club and I think that's a huge shift as well for the school making sure that there's money resources for us to do the work (Interview, June 18th).

Anthony and Judy who were previous advisers for the club explained that two advisers were necessary to make sure the club ran smoothly. Paying only one of them at a time showed a lack of commitment to the needs of the club. That changed when the principal began to financially prioritize this type of work.

> We would host an event we had a harder time convincing our principal that it was important and had value but now, we actually have our principal's support for a grant which gave us about $3,000 for the club so it's gone from "hey we will need your help" like we did everything we put in the money, but in the time we really need this, to having money (Interview, March 2nd).

Both Judy and Angie mentioned that the school supported this work and was interested in advocating for undocumented students, however, prior to this past year they had not financial prioritized the work. In addition to supporting educator's capacity, the financial support also allowed them to do more programming that allowed students to connect and participate with the program.

> We are able to do more, like this year we did a film screening, we took the kids to the conference, we did posters (Interview, March 2nd).

In order to provide this money to the group, the principal had to apply to a grant which provides financial support to similar initiatives at the high school. This past year the principal prioritized the initiative and applied and received the grant for them.

> The city actually gives out grants for, I don't know what it's called, but we weren't the only ones in our school we got it and the club for allies of LGBTQ community (Interview, March 2nd).

While financial priority is a necessary component to creating sustainability amongst the group, there was still undue labor onto this educators. Judy noted that she is one of the department heads for the school. Now that she has received financial support from the school, she is able to support herself and the initiatives, however, no other educators were doing this kind of work, which impacted capacity and sustainability.

> I get payment as the department chair or content lead so in theory it's part of that but it's not something that like other department chairs are doing so no addition. More recently, so the first year we did it I helped coordinate everything with our parent coordinator who did a little bit of work [with an outside organization] to help partner with us (Interview, March 2nd).``

Analysis

Judy's point highlighted that supporting undocumented students' needed to be a holistic effort by the entire school rather than just one or two individuals. This would not only help build capacity and knowledge acquisition but also the sustainability of resources. Until then, educators connected with community organizations to create resources for students. As educators continued to answer questions about networks it became clear that in order for networks of support to be effective, they must bear in mind sustainability and include financial support and prioritization. Without these factors in mind networks will continue to overburden one or two educators and cause additional unpaid labor and undue emotional burdens. Lastly, in an effort to produce intentional and responsive networks of support, educators also incorporated student voices and narratives to their work.

Theme 3: Centering Student Experiences and Voices

In both Arizona and New York educators across states made it a point to include students in their efforts to support create networks. This was a resounding point in both spaces because educators understood the importance of centering students in their resources. Without student involvement, educators expressed they would be unsure what students needed and how they can be supported. Indeed, administrators and educator often interpreted policies while students fought and negotiated their inclusion in education (Barnhardt et al, 2017). In this study educators noted that they tried to shift that in an effort to intentionally incorporate student voice. However, in order to safely and intentionally include undocumented students, educators in both spaces sought to understand the climate and context of the state and how it impacted and politized students' identities. Much like the rest of this chapter the experience of incorporating students depended on the political context of the state.

Comparative Approach

Assessing State Climate

In Arizona, educators first assessed the climate of the school in order to determine how to form a student group but also to make sure educators were aware that undocumented students exist in their campus. The questions in this survey revolved around the use of the slur "illegal" to address undocumented students and knowledge on common resources for undocumented students such as DACA and in-state tuition.

> So, we created some years ago, we created a questionnaire...I knew that they were undocumented students just because I know the community and I know their status, so I knew there were a lot of undocumented students, but others did not (Interview, March 2nd).

This initial question allowed the creators of this survey to already asses the climate of the school, their colleagues were hesitant to acknowledge that there were undocumented students in the school, which impacted how undocumented students could form student groups. Knowledge acquisition was also part of the survey because policies change so rapidly in Arizona. This determined how much educators knew as a crucial first step in assessing the climate of the school.

> I mean the options that had been there previously them for their students simply were not there any longer because, because of the new system that's being required but even if things move along, you know people who work within our systems I have to be careful who are sometimes willing (Interview, March 2nd).

Determining who is willing to support students even when resources are taken away is part of assessing the climate of the school. Despite being in a more liberal state by comparison, New York also experienced a shift in their school climate with the recent presidential election. Anthony described the shift which ultimately influenced the way undocumented students came out to educators.

> Under Obama there was much more a sense that you would be and you could come out as undocumented that the most the biggest fear was there wasn't therapy or missed opportunities and that has changed for sure, but yeah, I mean me and Judy would obviously we talked about it and we didn't coerce or force anyone but in case folks wanted to come out as undocumented we would encourage them and show them videos of [others] doing it (Interview, March 2nd).

While undocumented students felt safer during the Obama administration, that did not mean that there wasn't a sense of fear under the Obama administration In fact, it is widely noted that the Obama administration deported to highest amount of undocumented immigrant of any presidential administration. Judy expanded on this point by acknowledging that she first began working with undocumented students when the Obama administration was in office.

> A combination of students, being almost all of my students in the community who are children of immigrants and they were much younger, so I think conversations about status often don't come up in school climate is where students within the story feel comfortable sharing their status or any fears about that experience (Interview, March 2nd).

The violence of deportations motivated Judy and other educators to act and begin addressing the school climate in an effort to support students. Educators like Leo were also motivated to push harder for resources acquisition.

> Ever since Trump I kind of stepped it up a little bit more with the principal, you know that she keeps asking me to do things about immigration work, so last year during the all-staff meeting and professional development I gave the immigration update (Interview, July 11th).

Similarly, to Arizona, a survey was created to assess the climate of the school and their resources and knowledge. Students in the student Dream Team created a survey that also asked about the

use of "illegal" to address students and the knowledge educators had. Moreover, this survey also expanded to other students so that they could asses the climate of the whole school.

> They did a survey but a survey of a school climate. They just came up with really interesting questions and there's a question about "do you think it's okay if students use the i-word?" Questions about what the school could be doing to support students more and a lot of what the young folks came up with first was why are we so negative about being undocumented in the school when we're primarily immigrants? Why is it considered an insult to call someone in immigrant or especially illegal? And so, and you know the adults in the school were going on to be like "oh the students allow this culture to exist, in their situation"... I think that was kind of evidence of the results in the young people. That the adults did not intervene or help the students have healthier conversations that would wipe out that kind of self-hate and directed at each other (Interview, July 11th).

As Anthony described, the survey ultimately revealed that students were not engaging with supportive language or culture. This was not because students were anti-immigrant, rather because educators were not doing anything to address the language students used or the language their colleagues were using to address immigrants and undocumented students. Judy described that this group took it a step further by creating an information video that allows the campus to engage with this shift in language. The student continued to share this information through posters.

> They made an informational video about going to college when you're undocumented that was played at our town halls...and then they made informational posters that they could put around the school we did I think 3 or 4 years ago (Interview, March 2nd).

The informational practices initiated by students showcased that they were engaged with their political and politicized identity. Educators attributed this to the general political climate that was brought on by the Black Lives Matter movement. Judy described the ways in which Black Lives Matter, UndocuBlack movements, and the school-to-deportation pipeline added to student activism.

> Political awareness as a group around stuff like school-to-prison to deportation pipeline thanks in large part to Black lives matter and particularly black undocumented organizing that's happening and there's definitely a context...the work that most of us do individually as teachers around just like dealing with crises, related to policing and deportation and detention and I would say that's probably a challenge across the country (Interview, March 2nd).

Educators who assessed the climate of their school and developed a better understanding of how to intentionally and safely center student voices in their work. Once again, the context of the state determined how involved students were in the work.

Incorporating Student Voices

For example, in Arizona Jessica talks about first forming an informal student group because the state and school climate was not supportive of undocumented students.

> It was very informal the first it was really informal some four or so students came in they checked in, that's when I asked them what they wanted this group to be they said they wanted us to help them go to college they wanted us to help with their work with the grades so we had a very informal decided what they wanted to do (Interview, March 10th).

Despite it being a small and informal group, Jessica and other educators focused on what students wanted from the space in order to create a supportive space for all students. While it was primarily for undocumented students, allies and students in mixed status families also joined the group. Robert added that the space welcomed all students regardless of status.

> Everyone in the club for undocumented students, we don't ask who's undocumented everyone is welcome everybody's welcome. Students they're comfortable with each other they support each other to participate we try to help whatever issues sometimes our students that don't qualify for any opportunities after high school, when they graduate and just trying to find resources to support them that's one of the purposes of this club (Interview, March 1st).

Indeed, the club was welcoming of everyone and did not ask for status. This meant that allies could attend and engage with the club. While students noted that they wanted specific support in going to college and graduating, Gabriela also gave students opportunities to share their work and experiences in conferences.

> They got to do a proposal for the College Board we met outside of the school to talk about what we wanted to do, and we wanted to work on the project, so we met for 5 hours working in the library and I had about six students show up (Interview, March 9th).

Gabriela explained this proposal was about their experience navigating Advanced Placement courses. As noted, before, Gabriela noticed that undocumented students were not being encouraged to take AP classes. Gabriela encouraged students to talk about their experience in AP

classes and how the College Board can work to shift that. Unfortunately, the proposal was not accepted by the College Board. However, students had the opportunity to express their experiences while working on the proposal. What they wrote also helped to inform Gabriela's work with other educators on campus. Jessica elaborated that this ultimately helped shift the climate at the school.

> The existence of the network and the student club affected the climate of the school because of these groups there's been these two groups basically provided kind of like a message to the entire campus that there were folks who support and those of you who aren't supportive of this, because there were people… and it did help shift the climate of the school (Interview, March 9th).

Visibility, as I mentioned in previous chapters, was an important way for educators to create resources for their students. Similarly, visibility of networks and their work helped to shift the climate and student involvement in schools.

In New York, educators also had a student group. Anthony described the focus of the group as a space for community and support. This also included student involvement and activism.

> A balance between community building and relationship-building and having actionable steps that will make people feel like it's their school or there's a cool thing to be involved with, like, building power, you know what I mean so the meetings were like mostly sitting in a circle sharing some openers or either building relationships (Interview, March 21st).

Building power became a necessary point for educators and students. Educators wanted to help students cultivate a sense of agency in order to feel supported. Angie and Judy helped to foster some of this through collaborative partnerships and opportunities to engage in activism.

> In the past years we have taken students to protests and rallies. Last year we had students participate in a letter-writing campaign with handwritten letters to the Chancellor and Mayor de Blasio asking for formal funding for restorative justice and total cut down on school-to-prison to deportation pipeline and then we had like an end-of-the-year for students or different schools to come in and we had these letters and we presented the letters to the mayor's office which was also part of a bigger initiative led by [our network] which is when it's made up of students from across the city teachers from across the city, I mean we also take them to our immigration conference every year this year was my second year taking the kids there (Interview, March 1st).

As Angie described, students are heavily involved in activism and campaigns related to their experience. They also attended events by community organizations that further informed their work in school. However, educators still had to be mindful of how students could be incorporated in events and protest, especially when they were more political in nature.

> School leadership has been pretty supportive about that with the letter writing campaign that was also a process so that I had to go through the Department of Education legal team because it was like part of advocacy and I had to be pretty careful with those students who are doing it because they chose to, not because as a teacher it's something I was telling them to do because legally if it had been interpreted that way I could have been in a pretty bad position (Interview, June 18th).

Judy described an interesting balance in which students advocated for themselves and their education, but she had to confirm she had no influence in their work, otherwise the school may think that she was influencing students to advocate for themselves via her own political motivations. Judy also described that students continue to practice their agency via social media campaigns.

> Other projects have included there's been a huge range you know social media stuff they made an Instagram account, just to try and create a climate and updates on things we take the kids to, like protest. Only if we know that there's a very very low risk of arrest, we've been to a lot of protests with [community organizations] so that like six years ago we took them to one when the New York Dream Act didn't pass we went to a couple of those so we've done some campaigns with the kids and social media protest stuff to support them (Interview, March 2nd).

Despite additional restrictions, educators conduct some of this work because their context, as they previously described, was more welcoming of undocumented and immigrants. Without this context, they would also be limited to similar political constraints likes Arizona educators. However, even with a more positive climate students in both states had a multitude of experiences which prevented them from engaging with this space. Angie notes that the student membership has continued to decrease over the years, often attributed to the responsibility's students have.

> In some cases students ghost you or in others they will be honest and say I have work after school and or have to go babysit my cousins or whatever so they'll tell you some of them will tell you they're not comfortable being identified as undocumented or an ally especially if they have a family member wasn't documented they don't want to identify themselves in that way (Interview, June 1th).

Analysis

Angie's point was well taken, no matter the context of the state students had additional responsibilities and a sense of fear regarding their status and their experiences. I highlighted this last point because we often think of New York as a progressive sanctuary for immigrants. However, we can see that students were still hindered by policy, federal or otherwise. Therefore, while state context impacted the way educators could perform their roles, create policy, and cultivate networks, undocumented students continued to experience violence from the country as a whole, regardless of the states.

Summary of How These Themes Interact

Educators in New York and Arizona navigated their respective political contexts in an effort to create networks of support for undocumented students. While in Arizona identifying allies and speaking up about advocacy for undocumented students was a difficult process, educators established ways to still create networks. The process of educators negotiating whether to speak up or remain silent lends to O'Connor and Mangual Figueroa's (2017) work. As Judy noted, there were moments in which she remained silent in order to protect resources meaning that educators often had to decide which of the two would be less detrimental. The complexity of state politics added nuance to this decision. New York educators were able to take their advocacy to larger networks of support which allowed them to expand their knowledge and resources across the city. Unfortunately, both struggled with sustainability efforts for their work. Educators in both states were overworked and not compensated for their additional labor. This led to emotional and physical exhaustion. In some instances where financial sustainability was prioritized, educators were able to share more resources with students and their colleagues, further highlighting the importance of financial sustainability. Similarly, both states had to navigate how to incorporate student voices into their work and their networks. The mindfulness that educators sought to practice was within this violence in mind. While Arizona policies were more anti-immigrant, both states enacted violence and oppressive policies onto their constituencies. Often, it's those most vulnerable that are scapegoated as the problem and often

become targeted for attacks (Hammon et al, 2001), no matter what state they reside. With the violent shift in political climate educators had to renegotiate how students could feel safe, supported, and advocated for in their schools. However, it was vital that these voices be included as they are directly-impacted and connected to this work.

CONCLUSION

Summary of the Findings

The purpose of this study was to identify the role educators play in the lives of undocumented students as it relates to different political and policy contexts. In this dissertation I sought to provide insight into the process in which educators shape, interpret, and create policy for undocumented students in their schools. Therefore, this qualitative study examined the strategies of educators in four separate schools across two states to answer the following questions:

1. **What are the roles of educators in supporting undocumented students?**
2. **In what ways do educators shape, interpret, and create policy to address the needs of undocumented students?**
3. **In what ways do educators create networks of support considering the context of their state, city, and school?**

Participants provided extensive knowledge on the roles they take on when supporting undocumented students and how state policy and politics influence their roles. The majority of the participants in New York Identified as teachers in the classroom while the majority of educators in Arizona identified as counselors or former counselors. However, all participants identified as part of a network of educators that works to support undocumented and immigrant students. The connections to these networks served as a tool for resource acquisition and helped to ground them in their work with undocumented students. However, despite being a part of a group, educators noted that their work at the school was often identified as being the expert and the point of referral to undocumented students. This ultimately resulted in their roles becoming informal, and subsequently responsibilities, learning, and consequences resting on these educators. No matter the amount of support they received, in the school or in state policy, these educators carried an enormous weight of responsibilities for their undocumented students, they

often risked their own careers in the process. While educators provided different examples in New York and Arizona, the themes reflected educators from both states,

The first research question identified three distinct themes from the analysis of participant interviews. Educators defined their role in supporting undocumented student as the following: 1. Combating status-blind narratives that ignored the impact of status; 2. Empowering colleagues to locate resources; and 3. Intervening when necessary. These themes did not present themselves in any particular order, rather educators would often demonstrate these themes when the opportunity presented itself and as they continued to learn how they can support their students and colleagues.

My second question asked how educators interpret, shape, and create policy for undocumented students. The themes that emerged from this question were the following, 1. Interpreting policy to understand; 2. appropriating policies to create; and 3. negotiating policy to take action. Similar to the first question the themes that presented themselves were reflected in both states. However, as this is a question of how educators create, shape, and interpret policy, state and district policies impacted the way educators engaged with policy and the ways in which they interpreted, appropriated, negotiated and created policies underground policies.

My last question focused on ways in which educators created networks of support in order to support undocumented students. The themes that emerged from this question are the following: 1. Navigating free speech to identify allies or self-identify as an ally; 2. Advocating for financial sustainability; and 3. Incorporating student voice and action. These three themes were the ones most affected by the context of the state and district. Therefore, the cultivation of networks looked vastly different across each state.

Analysis

The following sections provide a discussion of the findings as they relate to the research questions.

The Role of Educators: Educating Empowering, and Engaging

In the analytics data section of this dissertation I presented previous research which addressed the needs of undocumented students in school. Literature has provided time again that trust is often a critical factor that determines whether undocumented students will share their status with educators (Huber & Malagon 2006; Chavez et al, 2007; Murrillo, 2017). While my question did not directly ask about how educators created trust to support undocumented students' educators did address actions and practices which led to a creation of trust. First and foremost, educators raised awareness surrounding this issue. What this led to was other educators understanding and engaging with the undocumented student's population. At times, this simply meant acknowledging that undocumented students existed in the school, in other instances it meant combating "status-blind" narratives in which educators supported undocumented students but ignored the consequences of status in lieu of "equality." Either way, educators described that both of these efforts led to an increased sense of awareness and visibility that provided the campus with a knowledge and reference to the undocumented students experience, allowing more educators to communicate their trustworthiness.

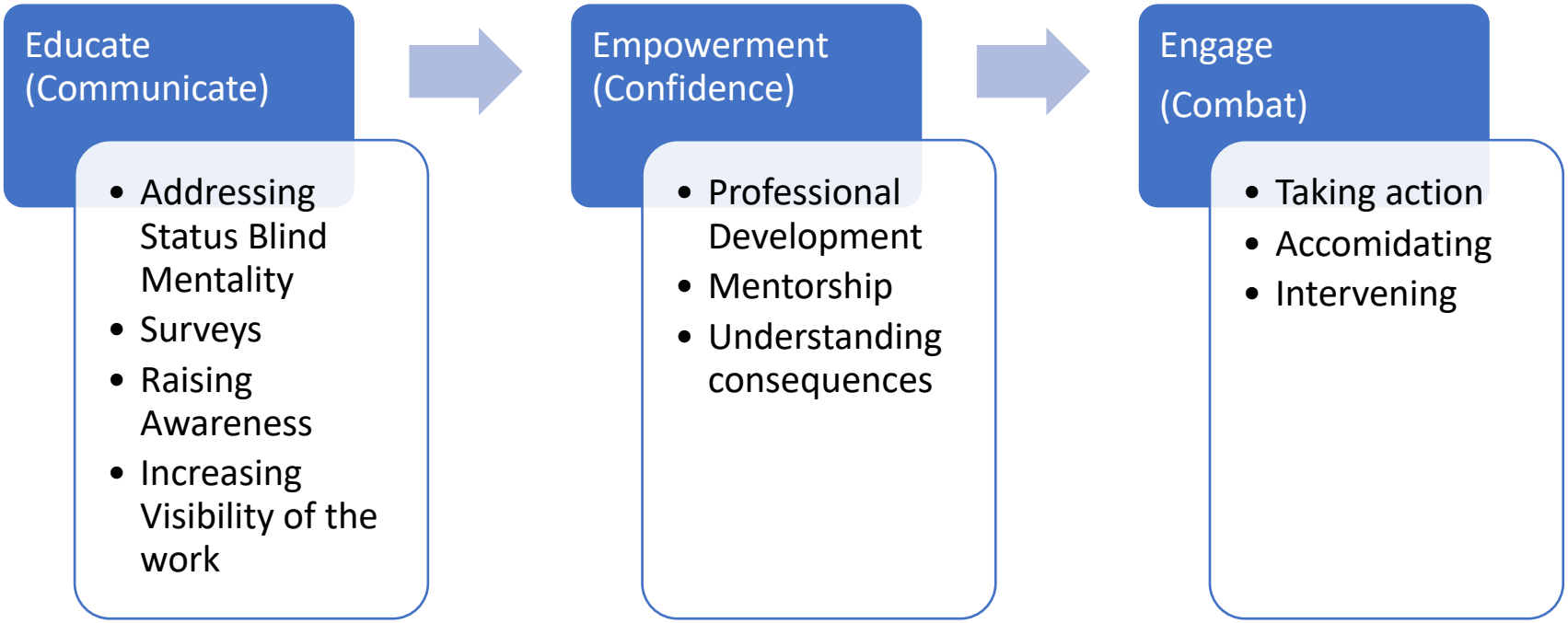
This directly led to the second point of this finding: empowering other educators. Often, when educators created moments of awareness, they educated their colleagues, a role that was not formally part of their responsibilities, which presented itself to be an issue throughout this study. As educators continued to educate their colleagues, they often found themselves becoming the designated "immigrant-point person." However, educators explained that a point-person is not the viable designation for a school, rather everyone must be informed and educated. Therefore, educators began the process of empowering their colleagues to educate themselves. Educators described that this was often how they began to get involved in this work, by empowering themselves to research and understand this experience. This was a role that educators identified because feeling empowered to understand students' experiences, often meant understanding the consequences of this experience and ultimately knowing when to act to support students. Because

of the legal factor of this experience many educators were hesitant to provide any kind of advice, sometimes to the point of paralysis on this issue. Educators who sought out trainings and mentorship developed a sense of confidence to not only be informed but also seek out answers when they did not have them. An empowered educator with knowledge of this experience became a trusted educator. Both of these efforts led to an increased sense of awareness and visibility that provided the campus with a knowledge and reference to the undocumented students experience, allowing more educators to communicate their trustworthiness.

Therefore, the last identified role of an educator, became the role of intervention and accommodation. Educators who educated others and felt empowered to continue learning knew when to intervene and accommodate an undocumented student who needs support. In some instances, this meant they allowed the student to turn in assignments late and in other instances this meant physically intervening and retrieving students in order to prevent them from violating their court ordered attendance. As you can tell from **Figure 3.,** these roles are intrinsically tied and work together to create an environment of trust that is communicated by action. Educators educated their colleagues and raised awareness, educating also meant empowering educators to educate themselves in order to fully understand this experience. These educators then begin intervening in intentional and necessary ways. None of these steps can be accomplished without the other, because making these decisions required a certain level of education on the subject, acknowledgement of its impact, and a sense of empowerment to act. The cycle then repeats itself as empowered and action oriented educator then begins to educate other educators.

However, this process does not occur fluidly as described above, in fact, all the educators interviewed described that they are often the only ones who actively participate in this cycle due to the fact that this role is neither sustainable or formalized, a point that is addressed in the third finding.

Figure 3 - The Role of Educators in the Experience of Undocumented Students



Therefore, this communicates that educators at varying levels and with different positions, take on these roles in a way that the school or district should already be encouraging.

Engaging Policy as a Practice

The second question this dissertation answered was how do educators shape, interpret, and create policy to address the needs of undocumented students? The deconstruction of educators engaging with policy occurred in a two part process. The first came through an extensive background on the role of policy in both New York and Arizona. The second was through an extensive literature review of policy as power and practice. The theoretical framework applicable to this research question is policy as a practice.

In the first question educators described educating themselves and others in order to fully understand the experiences of undocumented students. All educators alluded to engaging and understanding policy in an effort to support their students. Moreover, there were educators who also described engaging with policy as a necessary role. As educators engaged with policy, they exhibited the process of policy as a practice. Therefore, the theoretical framework of policy as practice helped to inform how educator interpret, shape, and create policy. Interpreting policy, a tenant of policy as practice described by Datnow et all (2002), was a step in which all educators described participating. This process allowed educators to identify not only formal but informal policies. These were clearly described as educators described formal policy that specifically targeted undocumented students and policy which unexpectedly impacted undocumented students. Educators also described informal policy that intersected with other aspects of their identity ultimately creating a specific intersection with undocumented students and unspoken policy in which other educators normalized a certain informal often harmful protocol for undocumented students.

Educators who understood the impact of policy were able to appropriate policy in an effort to adapt policy as a resource for their students. Levinson and Sutton (2001), used policy to describe how organizational agents create unauthorized policy in an effort to address authorized policy.

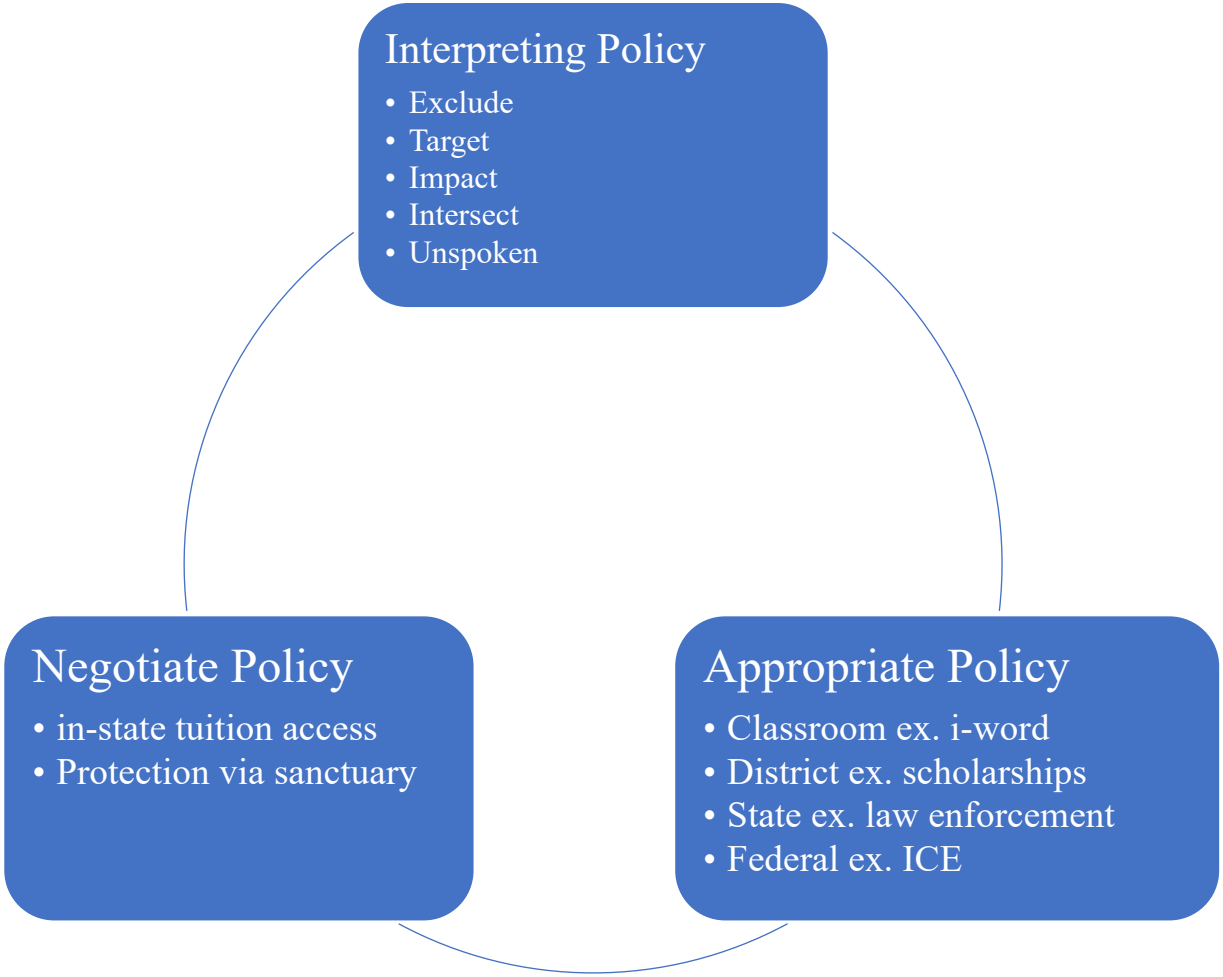
Indeed, educators appropriated policy to create informal policy to support their students. Policy functioned at the different levels for educators in relation to the classroom, district, state, federal government. These levels were necessary in order to allow educators to navigate what are often contradictory policies, as described in the literature review. In some instances educators created classroom protocol, scholarships, protest and rally participation, alternative law enforcement including ICE interactions.

Lastly, educators also negotiated policy in an effort to create action and policies. The process of creating policy include understanding and creating meaning in order to create policy (Wegner, 1998). Educators in both states negotiated policy in an effort to protect and provide resources for undocumented students, often times creating action that went directly against policy and the law. Through informal meetings on a need-to-know basis educators created protocol and policies to directly address issues of in-state tuition and sanctuary for undocumented students. While part of this meant appropriating policy, the action plans the resulted falls in line with negotiating policy. **Figure 4.,** illustrates how these actions were connected to one another. While the practice of interpreting, appropriating, and negotiating can be triggered by one another, all three can exist at the same time and without requisite practices, allowing educators to address the needs in each state differently.

Creating Networks that include Speech, Sustainability, and Students

In the final finding of my dissertation I attempted to answer the question how to educators create networks of support considering their state context. This section of my findings relies on the theoretical framework of schools as organizations (Bidwell, 2001; Frank and Zhao, 2005; Penuel et al, 2010; Lizardy-Hajbi, 2011) in which educators are organization actors (Bernhardt et al, 2016) and organizational analysis (McAdam and Scott, 2005) to identify how context influences organizations' and their actors' actions. The question of creating networks stems from the fact that all educators in this study were part of a network, whether informal or formal. They were attending meetings or kept themselves connected with the space regularly,

Figure 4 - Engaging with Policy

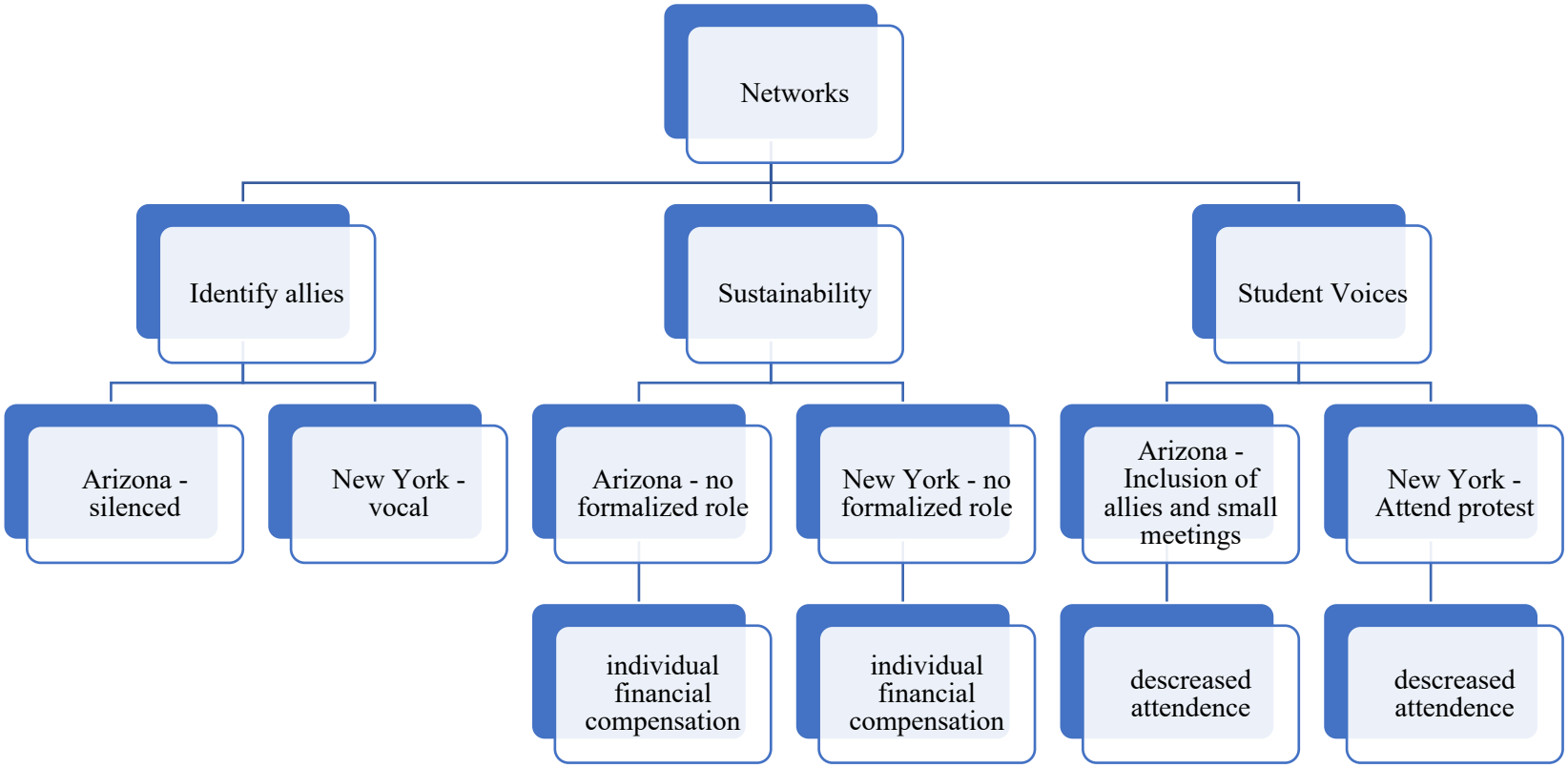


whether through in person meetings or emails threads. My question sought to understand how educators created these networks in their schools and how the context of the state influenced their ability to do so.

While the methods in which educators created networks were the same across states, the way in which they were able to put into practice these methods varied by state. **Figure 5.,** below details how each state compared to the other in terms of identifying allies, sustainability, and student voice. This was because of the difference in state legislature and policy practice in each state. Both states are influenced by coercive, normative, and mimetic policy and patterns which can impact how organizational actors and organizations reach to policy. In this section I will described educator's methods of creating networks and how the state context influenced it.

The findings of this question revealed that educators identified allies to include in the networks through speech; meaning educators either self-identified as potential allies or vice versa. State context impacted how educators identified allies. For example, in Arizona educators received messages from their school principals, board members, and the state. That message was one of two messages, a normative one that reiterate the role of education in politics in the state which communicated if you express your political opinion there could be consequences; and a coercive message led by political pressures that communicated undocumented students are not welcomed in the schools. Therefore, in Arizona educators expressed caution when sharing their allyship and often educators would wait until someone approached them with supportive questions or interest. If they expressed the opposite, they would disregard them and continue moving forward. In New York educators were expected to identify as allies. Educators across the New York schools expressed ways in which educators show allyship openly and consistently in the school. However, the expectation to support undocumented students is sometimes not backed by actional steps. Once allies were identified educators worked to make sure that resources were being shared and communication was maintained in an effort to continue supporting students.

Figure 5 - Comparing Arizona and New York Sustainability and Networks



This method of communication resulted in the creation of networks in each of the states. In Arizona networks were centered in specific schools, while in New York networks began from a city level and continued into individual schools. However, the larger networks exist in unison with the smaller networks.

As educators across both states began engaging and creating networks they consistently talked about sustainability in the network. Sustainability was referenced in one of two ways: capacity and financial prioritization. With regards to capacity educators in both states described that one educator often was referred to as the point person for immigrant-related questions. This placed undue burden onto one educator without investing time and support in training everyone. Educators in Arizona were not provided with either in their educational spaces. In fact, educators in Arizona had to create and advocate for sustainability on their own. This often meant including various educators from different department to share responsibilities and resources. With regards to financial sustainability, educators in Arizona were not provided with financial support. However, only educators from one of the two districts had a higher education administrator who financially prioritized educators to attend professional development related to undocumented students.

In New York educators faced similar hurdles. Despite the larger more expansive network educators in New York were still considered the point people and were overburden with questions. Similarly, to Arizona, educators worked towards their own sustainability, those who could no longer stay in that position, due to low pay or the emotional toll of the work, would often identify the next point person in order to keep the resources intact. With regards to financial sustainability, similarly to Arizona, New York higher education administrators provided one educator from one district financial compensation for the additional work she did through a Department of Education grant.

Schools districts across New York and Arizona experiences mimetic pressure to maintain a status quo with regards to sustainability. There is no footprint on how schools can bear in mind

sustainable practices to not overburden the immigrant "point-person." In fact, because the work is not a formal responsibility educators are expected to continue their work. The same can be said for financial compensation. The little financial prioritization described by educators can be attributed to one person shifting from habitual practices and undertaking something new and relevant. In Arizona that meant prioritizing professional development related to undocumented students and in New York that meant applying for a grant that funds undocumented students' efforts. While this may be the case in both states educators in New York had begun to advocate for the creation of an Immigrant Liaison position in order to formalize this position and create a better sense of sustainability.

Lastly, educators in both states included undocumented students' voices as part of the networks. However, educators had to proceed with caution when incorporated directly-impacted students. In order to intentionally and safely incorporate students' educators conducted an assessment of their school and an understanding of undocumented students experience their school. In both states' students experienced certain moments of antagonism and support. However, the simple creation of the educator network and student involvement reproduction patterns as students saw the creation of these two spaces as a support system for students.

However, the extent to how students participated depend on the organizational patterns of each state. Arizona's anti-immigrant history placed students in a position where they only felt safe with allies were also present in the student's group. In New York students were also concerned but they exercised their civic duty and participated in rally's and protests alongside other organizations. However, the coercive practices such as federal political pressures impacted student participation in both groups. Participation in both state decreased after the 2016 election and continued to impact attendance even now. This highlights that while each state is in a different political climate, undocumented students are impacted in both all the same.

Conclusion

In all three questions educators defined their roles clearly, even when there was nothing to formalize their labor or participation. Furthermore, rather than gatekeeping resources and self-identifying as the expert, educators understood that sharing resources was the only way to truly create a supportive space for undocumented students. This required action on the part of the educators. Action often took the form of researching and educating others in order to be as informed as possible. As one educator highlighted this was because current teacher training and education programs did not train educators on this topic. Secondly, action took the form as educators created policy in and out of schools. Educators were not only informing themselves on policy, but they actively created ways to engage policy in order to create resources for their students and protect them if necessary. While the comparative approach was to show that states work differently and exhibit different policies, there is also a point in including different states in order to communicate how differences in each state prevent resources from being shared across states and ultimately makes this an even more difficult process to navigate. This study reaffirms my notion that educators must embrace their role as policy makers within networks in order to truly meet the promise of *Plyler v Doe* and provide an equitable education for undocumented students. Gildersleeve et al (2011a) highlighted that policy is considered the producer of truths and knowledge and a definer of just and injustice. However, as history and research will tell us, policy as a form of discourse can become an ideology that can and has been manipulated by elites (Bacchi, 2000).

Implications

As noted early in this dissertation educators are often the first point of contact in the lives of undocumented families, positioning them to be what Staton-Salazar (2011) calls "empowerment agents." Based on the interviews presented in this study it is clear that educators who take on these roles understand the gravity of their role and the implications that it entails. However, it is still not clear how these roles are defined and if educators are provided with adequate support systems to take on these roles.

Therefore, one implication of this study is the extent to which educators are prepared or trained to support undocumented students. As noted in the literature review the Supreme Court Case *Plyler v Doe* mandates that schools provide an equitable education to all students regardless of immigration status. However, when we see a 5-10% college entrance rate for undocumented high school seniors there is a clear that undocumented students are not being provided with equitable resources. As educators described their engagement with policy in and outside of the schools, they needed to understand a certain level of knowledge and training to interpret and negotiate policy. Indeed, UndocuAlly trainings for educators is practiced in higher education institutions (Valenzuela et al, 2015) and has been studied as an effective process for educators to provide resources and include undocumented student's policy implementation (Wells, 2019). This became a particularly confusing factor when tax policies and disciplinary policies that had immediate and dangerous ramifications in the lives of undocumented students.

A second implication is for the department of education to provide compensation for educators who conduct this kind of work with undocumented students. Due to the history of this experience we can assume that educators have conducted this kind of work for years, often without support, resources, or compensation. When I was in middle school and high school, I had educators who knew I was undocumented and advocated on my behalf. It was often one or two educators who took on this work without training or guidance. The same can be said for other undocumented students who navigate K-12 education and into higher education. Educators who take on this role are truly meeting the promise of *Plyler v Doe* but have not receive the tools to do so, instead they educate themselves and their colleagues, as described in this dissertation. Therefore, department of educations must begin asking themselves how they will provide compensation for these educators.

Lastly, a core aspect of this study includes the involvement of educator networks and support systems within their school. Often these networks exist in lieu of proper training and support on behalf of the schools. However, this study also revealed that networks, such as the

ones educators participated in are necessary. The nature of this work requires an extensive amount of research, training, and labor that cannot be placed onto one individual. Moreover, it is knowledge that all educators should have in order equitably support undocumented students. In this study educators revealed that their involvement and engagement with networks of support provided them with support and a sense of empowerment to seek out opportunities and provide guidance for undocumented students. Much like formalizing this kind of role, schools should include networks are a process to support their students.

Recommendations

The structure of this study incorporated several stakeholders into the conversation of how undocumented students can be supported and the role which educators play in creating policy for undocumented students. Educators and their relationships to their students, colleagues, the school, the district, state, and the federal government. Adding another layer to this conversation is the variety of policies that exist in all of these levels and the lives of each of these entities. This was intentional to show case the complexities of intentionally and holistically supporting undocumented students. Therefore, the following section provides recommendations at the K-12 level, Higher Education, and at the Federal level.

Recommendations for K-12

A key point made by educators in New York was a call for the department of education to have an "Immigrant Liaison" position for the city. Educators in New York are in the process of proposing this position to the department of education in order to formalize this role and its labor. The educators that created this proposal are heavily involved in advocating for undocumented students in their schools, therefore they are familiar with importance of this position and the amount of work it requires. Moreover, educators in Arizona also referenced the work they take on when supporting undocumented students and without a formalized support system, they often find themselves seeking out guidance from other spaces that are also learning how to provide support for their undocumented students. Moreover, Arizona educators referenced that they often

have to balance their formal responsibilities with their informal ones. Therefore, departments of education should consider creating a formalized position with a designated individual whose sole responsibility is supporting undocumented students and providing trainings for other educators.

Recommendations for Higher Education

Throughout this study educators referenced instances in which they had to educate themselves on the experience of undocumented students and the policies that impacted them. Moreover, educators also described instances in which they interacted with undocumented students for the first time in their lives. This meant they had to educate themselves in the most basic form. This highlights a very obvious gap in the diversity of educators in K-12 spaces. However, one educator in Arizona made the powerful point that educators, herself included, are not receiving training on this subject in their teaching program at graduate schools in the state. Indeed, all the educators in this program mentioned that they had to educate themselves and did not have the proper training to support their undocumented students. Therefore, my recommendation for higher education institutions is to include training and practice on how educators can support undocumented students in their work.

Recommendations for Federal Policy

As I mentioned before, this study incorporated a comparative approach in an effort to identify the differences and similarities between each state. Therefore, while the patterns that educators presented were reflected in both states, the ways in which they engaged in policy varied because each state had different practices. For example, at the time of the study educators in Arizona had to navigate how to provide students with in-state tuition. While educators in New York did not have this problem, they focused on providing financial aid for undocumented students because the New York Dream Act had not yet passed. The difference in each state forced educators to find resources specific to their state This causes further confusion and restricts undocumented students to the resources of their state. This recommendation highlights the importance of the federal government creating a standard system for access to higher education.

However, this is a recommendation I suggest once Trump is no longer president and a genuinely supportive advocate for immigrants an undocumented communities becomes president.

Recommendations to Practice

My recommendations to practice connects to my previous three recommendations. Some educators in this study explained that they attended trainings and professional development that allowed them to interact with resources and opportunities for undocumented students. Other educators described that they created trainings for their colleagues in order to provide further trainings. However, only one educator described that she allotted professional development money for her staff to attend trainings for undocumented students. Therefore, my recommendation to practice is that all educators attend professional development training related to undocumented students support or UndocuAlly trainings. While the first three recommendations require time and money, practice is something that can be immediately implemented within schools.

Recommendations for Research

Lastly, my recommendation for research has been consistently stated throughout this study. Current research does not explore the experience of undocumented students in K-12 spaces. More than that, even less research focuses on the experience of educators and individuals in positions of power within schools. Although this research worked to incorporate educators from all aspects of the educational system, teachers, counselors, and administrators, there needs to be specific focus on each of their roles and the ways in which they support undocumented students. Therefore, future research needs to center these individuals as they are often the ones who create and gatekeep resources for undocumented students in their schools. Rather than placing directly-impacted voices under the lens of academia, research needs to begin highlighting what it is that educators do or don't to abide by *Plyler v Doe* in their schools.

More so, additional research and practice should focus on the ways in which educators create spaces of self-care while they support highly-traumatized students. The literature lacked a

substantial focus on self-care practices for educators. In my study, when participants were asked about their experience helping students, there were few moments in which educators created self-care practices, rather the focus was on boundaries and ultimately removing themselves from the education space which can be detrimental to the education and the resources created.

Final Thoughts

Ultimately, the purpose of this study positioned educators in a position or power and authority in an effort to understand how undocumented students could be supported across the country. There is truth in the fact that educators are not all-powerful, they are severely underpaid, under resourced, and under supported. However, as this study shows, educators have the policy making authority and, as Koyama (2004) highlights, should be included as policymakers. Therefore, this study sought to center educators when assessing policy practiced in schools.

As educators participated in this study, they described their roles in raising awareness, educating and empowering other educators. These roles identified the way educators often took on this work on their own without institutional support and relying on outside community spaces. This study also highlighted how educators engaged with policies at many levels. Their work with policy placed them in a position to create policy that at times, risk their own careers. Lastly, their work with networks allowed educators to present a necessary outline of what future policy can incorporate in order to effectively support this work by keeping in mind state context, sustainability, and student voices. However, underlining this work is the acknowledgement that educators also hold power and responsibility in the way in which they encourage students to share their status and cater policy to their experiences as Figueroa (2017) has described in her work with middle schools.

The comparative approach of this research allows us to understand the way state context influences how educators support undocumented students. Ultimately this study highlights what each state can learn from one another. What Arizona has managed to do despite the anti-immigrant climate can teach other states to combat the recent policies under its conservative anti-

immigrant state officials and the Trump presidency, as Tellez (2015) has powerfully illustrated in her work on resistance in Arizona. Similarly, New York also has the opportunity to teach other states the potential they have to advocate for their students.

Despite the focus on education this study also stressed that the undocumented student experience is not limited to the classroom. As tax law, charter school vouchers, and English language policies impacted undocumented students it is clear that this experience intersects in a variety of aspects in the lives of undocumented students, and therefore everyone should learn from it. While in my doctoral program I had classes with academics like Professor Francesca Lopez and Professor Kevin Lawrence Henry which allowed me to understand the intersectional nature of policies as they impact undocumented students. This added to my intersectional lens to approach this work in an effort to include policy from different fields. The mentorship from the listed faculty above helped to create nuance in my study and emphasize the importance of policy as power and how educators re-appropriate that power to advocate with and for undocumented students.

While this study highlights the importance of formalizing the role of educators and services to advocate for undocumented students, the institutionalization of services often limits how and to what extend educators can advocate. Therefore, I end this study with a quote from Leo, a formerly undocumented educator in New York. In this study he described the work he does to support undocumented students because of his own experience. However, while interviewing he was in the middle of leaving his position at the school because he could no longer afford to work there. Despite the lack of financial compensation, Leo was working to identify his replacement and a way to formalize the responsibilities he developed for his role. He ended his interview by explaining that the institutionalization of his work and the work of others, can complicate the ways in which undocumented students can be supported. It incorporates a state agency, and with it limits on what educators can do, however, resources are needed immediately across the city and therefore we must negotiate the balance:

They're good people, they do real work but they still have a boss to answer to in the store function within City Hall…It's not happening formerly in schools or across the city and it's also just a lot of extra labor on our part in terms of figuring out how to get to those resources and what to do and whatever. So, you know of course, of course there can be a formalized position and then it doesn't actually happen and it's just a name only. But on some level, I think it's the first step of making sure that there's more equitable access for immigrants used across the city to the resources of the city (Interview, July 11th).

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